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 Learning thus vs'd is water turn'd to wine:
 Well may wee then despaire to draw his minde,
 View heere the case; ith Booke the Jewell finde.

T. Covel sculpsit

V. A. M. fecit



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A
COLLECTION
OF THE
L I V E S
O F
Ten Eminent Divines,

Famous in their Generations for Learning, Prudence, Piety, and painfulness in the work of the *Ministry*.

Whereunto is added, the Life of
GUSTAVUS ERICSON,
King of *Sueden*, who first Reformed
RELIGION in that Kingdome,
and of some other Eminent *Christians*.

By *Sa. Clarke*, Preacher of the Gospel in *St Bennet Fink, London*.

*Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ, 1 Cor, 11.1.
Brethren, be ye followers together of me, and mark them which walk so,
as ye have us for an example, Phil. 3.17.*

Ministri vita censura, & Cynosura.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *William Miller*, at the Guilded *Asorn* near the Little
Norrh-door in *St. Pauls Church-yard*, 1662.

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NOV. 3, 1916



To the Candid Reader.

CHRISTIAN READER,

Here present thee with another Volume of the Lives of Ten Eminent Ministers of Jesus Christ, and of some other Christians. The acceptance of my former Labours in this kinde, hath encouraged me to make some further progress herein. We see how diligent the Papists have been to write and publish the Lives of their Rome-canonized Saints, though most of them were but Ignis fatui that led men into Boggs of Errour, or blinde leaders of the blinde, as the Pharisees were in our Saviours time, till both fell into the ditch: How much more diligent and carefull should we be, to perpetuate the Memories of those who were fixed Stars, not in the Antichristian, but in the true Church of Christ: And truly, if any Church in the Christian world, since the Reformation, much more (through Gods great mercy) hath the Church of England abounded with such: And now what doth the Lord require of us, but that we should be followers of those, who through faith and patience inherit the Promises. Good examples are for imitation, bad for evitation. Good examples put a kinde of life

Heb. 6. 12.

To the Reader.

Rom. 15. 4.

Doctor Sibbi.

into men : Even tired Fades seeing other Horses to gallop, will easily be put into a gallop also; and experience shews, that its a good means for our quickning, duely to observe the examples of such as have been forward in godlinesse, according to that of the Apostle, Phil. 3. 17. Mark them, which walk so as you have us for an example. Its the Spirits end in guiding some men in the right way, and that eminently, that by their walking therein, they might excite others to follow them : And its also a special end of Regestring the Histories of the Saints departed, For whatsoever was written aforetime, was written for our learning; and this is the best learning which we can reap from such Records, to imitate their Excellencies, and (if it be possible) to outstrip them therein. God in his wisdom hath not Regestred them, that they should be known onely as matter of Story for our delight, but for our direction and imitation; and to shew that the things which he requires of us are possible, seeing they have been done by others before us; as also to shew the way and means more plainly how to do them, and to declare how gratefull and acceptable they are when done. For the Scriptures are not penned altogether in a commanding stile, but have sweet alluring Examples mingled with the Precepts. There are four wayes (saith an eminent Divine) of teaching, Rule, Reason, Similitudes, and Examples : The two former enjoin, but work not upon the affections; and as for Smilitudes, they are for illustration, onely Examples conform us in a sweet alluring manner; and that we may receive good from good Examples, these Rules are to be observed :

I. We must eye and pry into them, which is the very
end

To the Reader.

end why God hath left us a continuall succession of good Examples.

2. We must eye them, not to observe their weaknesses, to discover their shame, for this is a poysonous disposition; neither may we observe them thereby to take liberty to the flesh, from what is amiss in them; but we must eye them, as we look into Glasses, to dresse, and adorn our selves thereby.

3. We must eye them for imitation : We must look upon the best, and the best in the best. We must not compare our selves with those who are inferiour to us in Gifts and Graces : For he that thinks himself good by comparison is not good at all. St. Paul saith, Brethren, be ye followers of me, even as I am of Christ : He propounded to himself, the most excellent pattern of all, even of Christ himself, and he blamed the Corinthians, because they measured themselves by themselves, 2 Cor. 10. 12.

I Cor. 11. 1.

4. We must labour for soft and sanctified hearts ; for a stony heart will receive no impression.

5. We must look to every one that hath any good thing worthy imitation : For in every Christian there is something imitable ; and therefore St. Paul longed to see the Romans, that he might be comforted by their faith, Rom. 1. 12.

6. Lastly, In things concerning which there is no certain rule to direct us, we ought to imitate the Examples of the most holy and sober Christians, as in the fashion of our apparel, the length of our hair, &c.

And as good examples are very profitable, so there is much danger in those that are evil, which by reason of the corruption of our natures, are great incentives, and allurements to sin. Nemo errat uni sibi, sed dementiam

To the Reader.

Spargit in proximos, accipitque invicem, saith Seneca. No man erres to himself also, but disperseth, and communicates his folly to his Neighbours alone, and interchangeably receiveth the like from them. And as evil Examples are hurtfull in all, so they are most pernicious in Superiours: For seldome do these tall Cedars fall, but they beat down all the low shrubs about them. Thus Magistrates by their evil example corrupt their Subjects, Parents their children, Masters their servants, and especially Princes their people, seeing all the Country, either for fear or flattery, is apt to conform to their Examples. Ea conditio est Principis, ut quicquid faciat, præcipere videatur, saith Quintilian. Princes actions stand for precepts, and their examples have the power of a Law to draw their Subjects to imitation. As the Heliotrope moves after the Sun, so do Subjects follow the manners of their Princes.

Regis ad exemplum totus componitur Orbis. Alexander the Great used to carry his head on the one side, whereupon his Nobles and Courtiers in imitation of him did the like. The common people (saith one) are like a flock of Cranes, as the first flies all the rest follow after; or as a Beast, where all the body follows the Head. Rulers sins do much hurt, as by imputation --- Delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi, so by imitation; For man is an Apish creature, apter to be led by his eyes, than by his ears. Magis intuentur quid fecerit Jupiter, quam quid docuit Plato, saith St. Augustine. Height of place ever adds two wings to sin, Example and Scandal, whereby it soars higher, and flies much farther. Oh therefore how cautious should Rulers be lest they be partakers of other mens sins, 1 Tim. 5. 22. They have enough of their own

To the Reader.

to answer for. Potentes potentèr torquebuntur. Let them take heed lest the iniquity of their heels (of those that follow them at heels) doth compass them about, Psal. 49.5.

And as the evil examples of Great ones are very pernicious, so are their good examples very profitable: Such as were the Kings of Judah, such were the subjects; like Prince, and like Priest, like people. Before Vespasian's time the Romans were grown to great excess, and profuseness in their apparel, household stuffe, and attendants, having by their Conquest of the East, learned the Eastern vices; and though many good Laws were made against it, yet could they not be restrained: But so soon as he came to the Empire, being a sober, moderate, and temperate Prince himself, all that former vanity grew out of fashion.

I am not ignorant how some of late have endeavoured to bespatter, and to bring an Odium upon the Names of some of our former Worthies (whose Lives I have formerly published) as though they were Fanaticks, Anabaptists (because they would not have their children baptized by Popish Priests) enemies to the State, Traytors, &c. But the memory of them shall be blessed, when the names of these their traducers shall rot. This is no new thing: Indeed it is an old trick of the Devil and his instruments, to belye Gods Children, and to represent them in the ugliest hue they can devise, thereby to make them the more odious: Thus Doeg dealt by David: The Priests and Prophets by Jeremy: The Persian Courtiers by Daniel, and his Companions: Amaziah by Amos: Hamon by the whole Nation of the Jews: Tertullus by Paul: And the Heathen Idolaters by the Primitive Christians,

Jer. 10. 10.
Dan. 3. 12. &
6. 13.
Amos 7. 10.
Ezra 3. 8.
Act. 24. 5.

To the Reader.

Christians, whereof you may see many Examples in my Mirrour, p. 44, 45. But though the credit of the Saints may be Flyblown for a season, and somewhat obscured, yet as the Moon wades out from under a cloud, so shall their innocency break forth as the light, &c. Psal. 37. 6. Buried it may be in the open Sepulchre of evill throats, but surely it shall rise again. A Resurrection there shall be of Names as well as of Bodies, at the farthest at the last day.

But I fear to exceed the length of an Epistle, and therefore I shall conclude with the words of the holy Apostle St. Paul, The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. So begging your prayers, I rest

2 Cor. 13. 14.

Yours to serve your Faith

and further your Joy,

S A. C L A R K E.

From my Study in
Thredneedle-street,
Octob. 10. 1661.

Upon this Book of Lives.

VVHoe're shall please to cast a glancing eye
On these unpolish't, and rude lines which I
Expose to publick view, may chance t'admire
A womans hand should dare so to aspire.

But way should man and wife divided be,
Who long have liv'd in love, and unity?
For mine own part I do not know the reason,
Except a womans verse be out of season.

Indeed I almost blush thus to be seen
Amongst so many Worthies as have been
Famous for Learning give them but their right,
Yet let me dare 'mongst them to throw my mite.

Of these Examples sure I am there's need,
To back our faith, and strengthen us indeed
Against such traps and nets as now are spread
To catch Gods people in the wayes they tread.

Yet if these Worthies rather chose to dye
Than known Truths to betray, or once deny,
Then let us tread their path, which path is blest,
That when we dye we may with them have rest.

And now to him that wrote this Book
Due praise, and thanks I give:
And pray that it may never dye,
But when he dyes may live.

K. C.

To the Reverend, &c.
Upon his Book of Lives.

VV Ill not the rest of mankinde blush for shame,
When they shall read, what under every name
Is there related? may not Ushers graces
Raise conscious blood into our modern-faces?
(He honour'd more his Dignity and See,
Then they did him; God send more such as he)
May not Crook, Whitaker, and painfull Hill
Shame Drone-vinedressers who want skill or will?
May not, or rather, will not every story
Ubraid the present age, and stain our glory?
When those that are not over-vicious shall
Run hazard to be styl'd Fanatical:
And these much more, whom you present to view
May probably be call'd Fanaticks too.
For Moses and the Prophets are despised,
Apostles, and Evangelists not prized:
What wonder then, if those whom here you raise
Even from the dead to guide in holy wayes
Shall be reproached, scorned, and neglected;
And that example which they gave, rejected?
Yet, Sir, your pious labours sober men
Will prize, and praise God for your happy Pen,
Whereby that precious treasure once contain'd
In earthen vessels, now broke by deaths hand
Is for our use preserv'd in good part,
And we therewith enriched by your Art.

*Let them who would your labours rightly prize
Endeavour to untwine these mysteries.*

Candles put out, yet shining bright and fair,
Cities demolished, yet standing are;
Salt turned into dust, yet seasons much,
Uncanonized Saints, yet truly such.

F. C.

*The Names of those Divines, and
Others, whose Lives are contained in
this Volume.*

MR. John Carter, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1634.,
Mr. Samuel Crook, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1649.

Mr. John Cotton, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1652.

Dr. Thomas Hil, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1653.

Dr. William Gouge, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1653.

Mr. Thomas Gataker, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1654.

Mr. Jeremy Whitaker, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1654.

Dr. James Usher, Primate of all Ireland, who dyed
Anno Christi 1655.

Mr. Richard Capel, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1656.

Dr. Robert Harris, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1658.

In the second Part.

Gustavus Ericson, King of *Sueden*, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1562.

Mrs. *Fane Ratcliffe*, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1638.

Mr. *Ignatius Furdine*, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1640.

Mrs. *Margaret Duck*, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1646.

Mrs. *Margaret Corbet*, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1656.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Wilkinson*, who dyed *Anno Christi* 1654.

Being sometimes occasionally absent from the City, these faults have escaped the Corrector, which I pray thee mend with thy Pen before reading of the Book.

P Age 29. line 4. read *Θιςωδρωτω* for *Θιςωδρωτω*, p. 33. l. 8. r. strenuous for pervous, p. 77. l. 1. put in, when so ne, Sec. p. 87. l. 1. r. conscionably for conscionable, p. 91. l. 4. put out, an, p. 129. l. 15. put out, was, p. 140. l. 1. put in, of, l. 20. r. her for his, p. 144. l. 22. put in, occasion, p. 149. l. 20. r. familiarly, for familiarity, p. 150. l. 29. r. Bi hops for Bishps, p. 155. l. 23. r. strange for strong, p. 157. l. 11. r. dayes, for life, p. 233. l. 31. r. knowing for know, p. 312. l. 4. r. wrote for wrought, p. 318. l. 25. r. *jure humani*, for *juris humani*, p. 342. l. 17. r. bury for bay, l. the last, r. other, for to her, p. 345. l. 8. r. the restless, for restless the, p. 359. l. 17. r. Sabbath for Sabbath, l. 27. r. *Lubeckers* for *Lubecks*, p. 435. l. 21. r. the foul, for the fould, p. 439. l. 7. r. Mit. 5. 3. for Mit. 3. 6. p. 443. l. 11. r. w ich for whea, p. 451. l. 15. put in by that, l. 24. put in, he, p. 452. l. 13. put out, used, and put in, to, p. 457. l. 3. put in, of, p. 458. l. 29. r. you, for yours, l. 529. l. 11. r. breeding for being.

The





MR. JOHN CARTER.



The LIFE and DEATH
OF

Mr. JOHN CARTER,

Who died Anno Christi, 1634.

MAfter John Carter was born at Wickham in Kent, near Canterburie, about the year of our Lord, 1554. He was descended but of mean Parents, yet were they Religious, and of good report, who not being able to maintain him at the University, wholly upon their own charge; there was one Mr. Rose, a rich man in Canterbury, who taking notice of his Piety in those his tender years, of his ingenuity, studiousness, and proficiency in all School-learning, even beyond the pitch of a Grammer Scholar; and finding him hopefull, and likely to prove a precious instrument in the Church of Christ, he took him into his care, sent him to Cambridge, and contributed such sums of money to him from time to time as were needfull. He was admitted into Clare-Hall, and

His birth.

His education.

He goes to Cambridge.

B

was

was Pupil to Dr. *Bing*, a famous *Civilian*, and Master of that House.

His Proficiency.

Presently after his first admission into that House, he was taken notice of as one of singular Learning, and ripeness for his years. Amongst the rest that were of his year he had a *Theam* given him to make upon this Subject, *Frugalitas virtutum maxima*: and when the young Students brought in their Theams, the Lecturer took, and read them, and when he came to *Carter's* Theam he stood, and paused awhile, and at last, said before them all: Here is the best Theam that ever I read; and gave him some money for his encouragement, and highly commended his Industry; and always after cast a favourable eye upon him, and sought opportunities to do him good.

His Industry.

Gods providence.

When Mr. *Carter* had taken his degrees of Bachelor, and Mr. of Arts, his Tutor, Dr. *Bing* (out of his singular love to him for his Piety and Learning) gave him a Chamber in his own Lodgings, where he continued a year, or two, which conduced much to the compleating of him for the work of the Ministry, and all the while that he continued a gremial in the lap, and bosom of his Mother, the University, he held constant Meetings with divers of his famous Contemporaries, and that every week, as with Dr. *Chaderton*, Dr. *Andrews* (afterwards Bishop of *Ely*) Mr. *Culverwell*, Mr. *Kewstubs*, and divers others, whom God raised up and fitted to send forth into his Harvest, to gather his Corn, then ripe for the Sickle, into his Barn. At their meetings they had constant Exercises; first, They began with prayer, & then applied themselves to the Study of the Scriptures; one was for the *Original*

Note.

nal Languages, anothers task was for the *Grammatical Interpretation*; anothers for the *Logical Analysis*; anothers for the true sense, and meaning of the Text; another gathered the Doctrines, and thus they carried on their several imployments, till at last they went out, like *Apollos*, eloquent men, and mighty in the Scriptures: and the Lord was with them; so that they brought in a very great Harvest into Gods Barn.

Mr. Carter would not run before he was sent, though he was so excellently qualified for the work; he durst not venter upon the exercise of the holy work of the Ministry, till he had, not only an inward, but an outward call also, *viz.* an assignation, approbation, and solemn admission by the laying on of the hands of the *Presbyterie*. When he was ordained, the Bishop (who in those days was *primus Presbyter*, or *Praeses*) seeking to oppose him, asked him this Question, Have you read the Bible through? *Yes* (said he) *I have read the Old Testament twice through in the Hebrew, and the New Testament often through in the Greek; and if you please to examine me in any particular place, I shall endeavour to give you an account of it.* Nay (said the Bishop) if it be so, I shall need to say no more to you; only some words of Commendation and encouragement he gave him, and so with other assistants, he Ordained him.

His Ordination.

Anno Christi, 1583. the Vicaridge of *Bramford* in *Suffolk*, near *Ipswich*, fell void, and Mr. *Rose* of *Canterbury*, beforementioned, procured the Presentation thereof for Mr. Carter of the Dean and Chapter of *Canterburie*, in whose Gift it was. The Salary at first was only twenty Marks *per annum*, but afterwards

He fixes at Bramford.

the Church raised it to twenty pound *per annum*, and that was the most that ever he had there, yet he accepted of it, and being settled in it, he set himself to do the work of Christ faithfully with all his might, *as a workman that needed not to be ashamed.*

His great
pains.

Every Lords day he preached twice very powerfully, and Chatechised the younger sort. He also preached a Lecture every *Thursday*, to which multitudes from *Ipswich*, and other adjacent places, did resort: And God gave such success to his Ministry, that by his labours many sons and daughters were from time to time begotten unto God. Many precious Christians that remain unto this day, acknowledge that their Conversion was by Mr. *Carters* Ministry.

His Success.

His Prayer.

Before his Sermons he made but a short Prayer, and that always in the same words: After Sermon he used to be large, and full, and expressed himself with great variety of phrases, and with much fervency, and always he concluded with the *Lords Prayer*.

His Charity.

He was very diligent in visiting the sick, especially the poorer sort; and he never went to the house of any poor creature, but he left a Purse-Alms, as well as a Spiritual-Alms of good, and heavenly advice, and prayer. No poor body ever came to his door that went away empty; his wife also looking to that as carefully as himself.

Every *Saturday* throughout the whole year he gave the Milk of his Cows to the poor of the Town; and indeed he gave more to the Poor every year, then the Revenue of his slender Vicaridge came to in the whole: yet God so blessed him, that whilst he was in *Bramford*, he quickly paid Mr. *Rose* of *Canterbury* all the money that

that he had disbursed toward his Education in the University; and before he left *Bramford* he purchased about twenty pound *per annum*; Gods blessing only makes rich.

He had but two sons, and he brought them both up in Learning, and maintained them in the University in good fashion.

His children.

He was sound, and orthodox in his judgement: Able, and resolute Champion against all manner of *Poperie* and *Arminianism*; as also against *Anabaptism*, and *Brownism*, which did then begin to peep up, and infest the Church, to tear and rent the seamless coat of Christ.

His zeal.

He was always a *Non-conformist*, one of the good old *Puritans* of *England*. He never swallowed any of the *Prelatical* Ceremonies against his Conscience: So that he was often troubled by the Bishops, but God raised him up friends that always brought him off, and maintained his Liberty. He was prudent, and of a peaceable spirit, and never censured any that could, and did conform, it he judged them consciencious, and saw any thing of God in them.

His non-conformity.

At his first coming to *Bramford*, he saw of the travel of his soul. He had a plentifull harvest, many souls being daily added to the Church, by his powerfull Ministry, and holy life. But after he had abode many years amongst them, the people began to be glutted with heavenly *Manna*, and loathed it, so that there grew a great decay in their first love: and about the year 1615. or something before, there arose up a generation of malignant spirits, who were haters of a plain, powerfull, and searching Ministry, and of the

His enemies.

life and power of Godliness: These were the Gentry, and chief of the Parish. These rose up against Mr. Carter, pressed him to Conformity, complained of him to the Bishop, and threatned that they would either bring him to conformity or eject him.

Gods providence.

At this very juncture of time, through Gods gracious Providence, the Rectory of little *Belsted* fell to be void. A very small Village, some three miles from *Ipswich*, and a solitary place; the means indeed was better then *Bramford*, yet short of a competency, and of the deserts of so eminent a Pillar in the Church of *Christ*: it being but about fifty pound, and at the most not worth above sixty pound *per annum*.

The Patron (Mr. *Bloss*) became a Suitor to Master Carter to accept of it, which he refused again, and again, being resolved rather to endure persecution at *Bramford*, to grapple with all difficulties, and to die there, rather then to remove. But Gods providence over-ruled him. At *Bramford* he saw that he must be outed, and Mr. *Bloss* would take no denial: yea, and he found favour in the eyes of the Bishop; so that he was instituted without subscription, or submitting to the Ceremonies: and then at last, God (as it were) taking him by the hand, and pulling him whether he would or no, he removed from *Bramford*, after he had done faithfull Service in the work of the Ministry for about thirty four years in that place, and was settled at *Belsted* Parsonage, where he continued eighteen years before God called him to rest from his Labors; and in all that time he discharged his holy Function just as he had done in *Bramford* in his younger years; though his Congregation here was but small: yet it pleased God

His remove to *Belsted*.

God that many Fish came within the compass of his Net from *Ipswich*, and other neighbouring Towns, where they were destitute of faithfull Shepherds, so that his later Crop in Gods Harvest-field, was very considerable.

Little *Belfted* was a *Tuscularum* to him, where in his old age he had much secret, and sweet communion with God in the house, and, as an *Isaac*, with him in the Fields, which was a beginning of that glorious Communion which he now enjoys with God in the *mountains of Spices*. He *being dead, yet speaks*, and his *works praise him in the Gates*. For from the Press we have his Learned, and pithy Commentary on the *Sermon of Christ in the Mount*: and two short, but substantial, solid, and profitable *Catechisms*: one, *Milk for children*: the other, *Winter evenings Communion*.

His Communion with God.

His works.

His pains in the study of the *Revelations* were indefatigable. He wrote much in a little room; but these Labours of his yet never saw the light. Many Ministers that privately did converse with him, lighted their candles at his.

For his carriage and deportment in his Family, it was sober, grave, and very Religious. He there offered up the Morning and Evening Sacrifice of Prayer, and praise continually: so that his House was a little Church. Thrice a day he had the Scriptures read, and after that the *Psalms*, or Chapter were ended, he used to ask all his children and servants what they remembered, and whatsoever Sentences they rehearsed, he would speak something out of them that might tend to their edification. For his own, and his Wives habit,

His Family Duties.

His humility.

bit, it was very plain, and homely, of the old Fashion, yet very cleanly and decent; insomuch, that all that came to his house would say, they had seen *Adam* and *Eve*, or some of the old *Patriarchs*.

In all his house also, there was nothing but honest plainness. He was such an one as *Jacob*, a plain, sincere, I had almost said a perfect man; I am sure a true *Nathaneel*, in whom was no guile.

Henever used any Plate in his House, but Vessels of Wood and Earth; Pewter and Brasse were the highest Mettals for his Utensils. All the time of his house-keeping he used constantly at his Table a little wooden Salt, which with age was grown to be of a duskyish black, which was much taken notice of by all Comers.

His hospitality.

He never made Feasts, yet always had wholsom, full, and liberal Diet in his house, and all fared alike: He, and his wife did never think that his children, and servants, and poor folk did eat enough.

The righteous man (saith Solomon) is mercifull to his Beast: So he was carefull even for the bruit Creatures, that they should be fed to the full. All his catel were like to the first *Kine* that *Pharaoh* saw feeding in the Meddow, they were fat-fleshed, and well favoured; insomuch, as some godly people used to say merrily: If they would be a Cow, or a Horse, or a Hog, or a Dog, they would choose Mr. *Carter* for their Master.

His conversation.

He had a sharp wit, and was sweet, milde, affable, and pleasant in his conversation; yet were there not any of his most facetious passages, that did not favour of holiness. His communication and discourse was always

always heavenly, and his eyes were frequently lifted up towards heaven : He did not eat, or drink without praising God with his mouth, and eyes. His whole *Conversation was in Heaven.*

His secret Duties.

Besides his Family Duties, and Prayers, he prayed constantly in his Closet at his first going to his study, and before he came forth to Dinner and Supper. He prayed very loud, and mostly very long : for the extension of his voice he had a double reason ; one that by his earnest speech he might quicken, and raise up his own heart, and devotion : the other, that he might give a good example for secret prayer to his children, and servants ; and he never closed any Prayer, without adding the *Lords Prayer* ; and his ground for that practise was this ; He judged his own best Prayers imperfect, and that of Christ most perfect, and comprehensive of all our necessities.

His Prayers

That you may be the better satisfied concerning his sense, and judgement in this matter, take this transcript out of his Printed Commentary upon *Mat. 6. 9.* Where after he hath set forth the excellency, and perfection of Christs Prayer, he addeth, " Christ now directs us to the right performance of the Duty of Prayer. *After this manner pray ye :* Or as *St. Luke* sets it down, *When you pray, say.* Not binding us strictly to use these words always, and none other, but to use the matter, manner, and like affections: But as for them who cannot so well enlarge their suits in other words, or for those also who can, and do it, and yet remain still unsatisfied, as not having done it sufficiently (and who can do it sufficiently ?) the Lord Christ hath left this most excellent help, to

Of the Lords Prayer.

“use the very words of this Divine Prayer, as the
 “most worthy servants of God have ever used to do:
 “And learn we here by the way, that an absolute ne-
 “cessity lyeth upon us (which ought to be our greatest
 “glory and comfort) to pray in these words, or in this
 “manner. For it is the undispensable Commandment
 “of our Lord Christ: *After this manner pray.*

His skill in
 comforting af-
 flicted Consc-
 ences.

He had a special dexterity in comforting afflicted
 Consciences; resolving doubts, and answering ques-
 tions; when some came to him (not long before he
 changed this earthly for an heavenly Mansion) and
 told him of the rigour of the *Prelates*, how it grew
 higher every day, how they persecuted conscientious
 Ministers, and Christians: Of their Innovations, and
 of the Book for Liberty of Sports on the *Sabbath* days,
 tending to the fearfull profanation thereof: He used
 these expressions: *I have had a longing desire to see, or
 hear of the fall of Antichrist: But I check my self, I
 shall go to Heaven, and there news of it will come thick,
 thick, thick.*

A Prediction.

When others came to him, and pressed him with
 importunity to tell them his Judgement concerning the
 future state of the Church, saying to him, that he had
 travelled much in the study of the *Revelations*, and
 they were perswaded that God had revealed some-
 thing more then ordinary to him. What do you think
 (said they) shall we have *Popery* once again, or no?
 He answered, *You shall not need to fear fire, and fagot
 any more: but such dreadfull divisions will be amongst
 Gods people and Professors, as will equalize the greatest
 persecutions.*

A man meeting him near his house, called to him,
 saying,

Mr. John Carter.

I I

saying, Oh Mr. Carter ! What shall I do ? My wife is entring into her Travel, and I think she will die with very fear : Mr. Carter answered, *Make haste, run to your wife, and tell her that I am going to my Closet as fast as I can to pray for her ; therefore bid her not faint, but to be of good courage and comfort.* The man accordingly ran to his wife, and told her what had passed between Mr. Carter, and him. Presently her fears vanished, God gave her strength, and she was delivered immediately, and safely : and strait after, her Husband went to Mr. Carter (even before he came out of his Closet) and told him what God had done for him.

His Prayers
succesfull.

Another time, a poor man met him by the way, and cryed to him piteously, saying, Mr. Carter ! What shall become of me ? I work hard, and fare hard, and yet I cannot thrive, I continue bare, and know not how in the world to live. He answered him : *Yet still you want one thing, and I will tell you what you shall do, Work hard, and fare hard, and pray hard, and I will warrant you shall thrive.*

His gracious
speeches.

There dwelled in that Parish a Tanner, that was a very godly man, and one that had much familiar society with Mr. Carter. This man as he was very busie in Tawing of a Hide with all his might, not so much as turning his head aside any way : Mr. Carter coming by accidentally, came softly behinde him, and merrily gave him a little clap on the back : the man started, and looking behinde him suddenly, blushed, and said, Sir, I am ashamed that you should find me thus : To whom Mr. Carter replied, *Let Christ when he comes finde me so doing* : What (said the man) doing thus ? Yes (said

Mr. Carter to him) faithfully performing the Duties of my Calling.

Being at Dinner at Ipswich at one of the Magistrates Houses; divers other Ministers being at the Table also: One amongst the rest (who was old enough, and had learned enough to have taught him more humility) was very full of talk, bragged much of his parts, and skill, &c. and made a Challenge, saying, Here are many Learned men, if any of you will propound any question in Divinity, or Philosophy, I will dispute with him, resolve his doubt, and satisfy him fully. All at the Table (except himself) were silent for a while: then said Mr. Carter, (when he saw that none else would speak to him, calling him by his name: *I will go no further then my Trencher to puzzle you: Here is a Sole: Now tell me the reason why this Fish that hath lived always in the salt water, should come out fresh?* To this, this forward Gentleman could say nothing, and so was laughed at, and shamed out of his vanity.

His acuteness.

At another time a certain man came to him, and made his moan, saying, I have lost the greatest friend that I had in the world: I had (in a manner) all my livelyhood from him: To whom Mr. Carter answered: *When the Fountain is dryed up in one place, God will open it in another.*

To one of his Sons he said, Son John, God hath always brought water for me out of the hard flinty rock. Those covetous hard hearted men, who have been enemies to my person and Ministry, have many times come in, and given me countenance and maintenance.

His eldest son, whom he had bred up to the Ministry.

stery, and who proved a blessed Instrument in the Church of Christ, being dead, Mr. Carter took care of his eldest son, sent him to *Cambridge*, and walking with him towards the Stable, took his last leave of him, in these words in *Latine*, *Cave, mi fili, fastum, ignaviam, Antichristum*, My son, beware of Pride, Sloth, and Antichrist.

His usual saying was, *a Traveller must have a Swines belly, an Asses back, and a Marchants purse*: Meaning that he must be content with any fare, bear all injuries, and provide for vast expences. We are Pilgrims and Travellers here, and we must prepare for wants, wrongs, and spoiling of our goods.

It might well be said of him, *Semper erat ubi non erat*: His heart was where his head was, and now his soul is, to wit, *in Heaven*.

His whole life was nothing else but a Communion day. Old *Jacob* seemed to live in him: and sure the Spirit of God breathed as much in him, in his words, and writings (holiness dropped from his Pen in every ordinary Letter that he wrote) in his actions, and *Soliloquies*, as in any mans in these latter times. He was always instilling precious precepts, exhortations, instructions, or consolations into those with whom he had occasion to converse.

His fruitfulness.

A godly woman told his Son, that she had been servant to a Religious Gentleman, to whose house Mr. Carter did often resort, and that she was won to Christ at first, by hearing the Heavenly speeches, and sweet principles that dropped from him as she was warming his Bed, and as she waited upon him in his Chamber.

His Justice.

He was always most just, and exact in his dealings. He put a Clause in his *Will*, for the faithfull, and carefull payment of his Debts: yet when his Son *John*, and his daughter *Eunice*, whom he made his Executors, enquired what his Debts were, he could finde nothing that he owed, except to the Smith for shoeing of an Horse or two.

His Son, when he came to look over his Library, found two or three Books (not one of them worth a Groat) upon which he had written, *This Book was borrowed of such an one: Let it be restored: or if the owner cannot be found, allow something to the poor for it, and that liberally.*

Once, being in a journey many miles from home, in changing a piece of Gold at a Shop, he took an half Crown piece instead of a shilling, neither he nor the Shop-keeper knowing it: but as soon as he came home, he found the mistake; whereupon he could not rest satisfied, but the next day took a long journey back again on purpose to that Town, to carry back the half Crown again.

He was of a sweet, mild, and gentle nature, and of a gracious spirit. A loving, and faithfull Husband to his wife, and a tender, and indulgent Father to his children; and if he failed in any thing, it was in his carriage to his Servants; for truly he carried not himself to them as a Master to his servants, but as a familiar friend to his friends. He would make them to sit down with him at his Table, and would drink to them at his meals.

He, and his Wife were married together almost threescore years, and in all that time there was never heard

heard any distastefull word to pass betwixt them. Neither indeed could it be otherwise: For he lived, and walked with her *as a man of knowledge*: he was to her a Prudent, Faithfull, and tender guide; and she was humble, and meek, revered, and highly esteemed him. Every word he spake was an Oracle to her, and her will ever closed with his Judgement.

He lived to the age of fourscore: When his youngest son *John* was born, who was the youngest of nine, he called him the Son of his Age, and yet he lived to see him forty years old before he died himself, being forty years old when he was born. His Age.

He was much, and frequent in secret Fastings, and when he kept such a day, he told none of his house of it, save his wife only, and she would not eat any thing that day on which he fasted, but oft-times she was with him in his retiring chamber to joyn with him in prayer; yet could it not be concealed from the rest of the Family, because at night he supped not, but only had a Toste, and a draught of ordinary Beer to sustain nature. His Fastings.

On the *Sabbath* Days he never had any Rostè meat at Dinner, because he would have none thereby kept from the Publick Ordinances; the Pot was hung on with a piece of Beef, and a pudding in it, and that was their constant Lords Days Dinner, for well-nigh sixty years together.

His Church at *Belfed* stood in a very solitary place, whereof he always kept a key, and would often resort thither all alone. A Gentleman once espying him as he went towards the Church on a private day, hid himself, till Mr. Carter was past, and gone into the Church, His retirements.

Church, and then he came close up to the Church wall, desiring to peep in at some window to see what he did, and to listen if he said any thing; and this Gentleman afterwards told his Son *John*, that he first prayed, then read a Chapter, and after that prayed largely, and very heavenly, as if he had been in his Family, or in the publick Congregation.

His vigour.

He vigorously held on the constant course of his Ministry to the last. It may be said of him, as of *Caleb* and *Joshua*; he was as fit for service in Gods Harvest-field at fourscore, as he was at fourty.

Indeed some abatement of bodily strength there was, as old Age did steal upon him. After his afternoon Sermon on the *Sabbath* days he would be something faint, and commonly when he came home he would call for some comfortable draught, and when he had lifted up his eyes to heaven, and taken it, he would say to them about him, *These are crutches to shore up a ruinous house*: but in his Intellectuals, and spiritual strength there was no decay.

Old Mr. *Benton* of *Wramplingham* in *Norfolk*, a holy man of God, being upon occasion in *Suffolk* in those parts, could not but give a visit to his old friend, Mr. *Carter* of *Belfed*; and being with him, he heard him discourse with such holy gravity, and a mixture of all kinde of Learning, solidity, and wit, that he stood amazed at it, and said, Mr. *Carter*, I see you are like unto the Palm and Cedar Tree, you bring forth more fruit in your Age. *I thank you* (said Mr. *Carter*) *you tell me what I should be.*

His sickness.

And now the time of his departure was at hand: Some fortnight, or three weeks before his Translation, there

there appeared some decays in his body, and memory, which now began to fail him. He would sometimes (but rarely) call to go to Sea, and to his better Countrey. Yet he sate up from morning till night, and commonly walked up and down the room, and never failed to perform Prayer, and other Family exercises, so that none could discern any considerable defect either in his spiritual, or natural strength: Only in this, that when he had done, he would presently call to begin again, and say to his daughter *Eunice*, who was now the stay of his house, and the staff of his old age (God having taken away his dear wife about two years before) *Daughter, shall we not go to prayer?* and when she answered him, Sir you have been at Prayer already, and you are weary, he would reply, *I fear we have not done what we should do.*

It was one of his constant and ordinary Petitions in every Prayer, that God would vouchsafe him a mercifull, and easie passage out of this life, and the Lord did most graciously answer him therein.

February the 21. Anno Christi, 1634. being the day before the *Sabbath*, in the evening he called very earnestly for Paper, Ink, and two Pens: *For* (saith he) *by Gods grace to morrow I will preach twice:* But (God knows) he was not in a fit condition for study; yet with that resolution he went to Bed, and God gave him some rest that night. In the morning upon the *Sabbath* day he did rise from his Bed, as he used to do, and came out of his Bed-chamber into the Hall, and after Prayer, he called for his ordinary breakfast, which he used before he went to Church (for still he held his resolution for Preaching) which was an Egg;

he took it into his hand, but alas ! it would not down: whereupon he said to his daughter.

Eunice, *I am not able to go to Church, yet I pray thee, lead me to my Bed, I will lie down a little and rest me.* So he rose up out of his chair, and walked up and down, she supporting him, and when he came to the Parlour door, before he put his foot over the threshold: *Oh Eunice !* saith he, *What shall I do ?* Put your trust (saith she) in that God of whom you have had so much experience, who never yet did leave you, nor forsake you. *Yea* (saith he) *the Lord be thanked.*

His Death.

So he gathered up his strength, went to the Bed-side, sat down upon it, and immediatly composed himself to lie down. He lifted up one of his Legs upon the Bed without any great difficulty, laid down his Body, and rested his Head upon the Pillow. His Daughter still stood by, expecting when she should lift his other leg upon the Bed, thinking that he had been faine asleep: and she was not mistaken, for so he was. It proved his last sleep, and before she could discern any change in him, his soul had taken its flight into heaven, even into the Arms, and embraces of his Blessed Saviour, whom he had faithfully served all his life long; being about fourscore years old.

He intended a *Sabbaths* labour for Christ, and Christ gave him rest from his labour, even the rest of an eternal *Sabbath*. When his daughter began to speak to him, and to lift him, she found that his breath was departed, yet was there not any change in his countenance at all: his eyes and his mouth continuing in the same posture they used to be in his sweetest sleeps.

Thus the Lord gave unto his faithfull Servant the desire

desire of his soul, and a return of his Prayers, such an easie passage, as that his death could not be discerned from a sweet natural sleep.

Not many days before his death he called his daughter, and said to her, *Daughter, Remember my love to my Son John: I shall see him no more in this life: and remember me to the rest of my children, and Family, and deliver this message to them all from me: Stand fast in the faith, and love one another.* This was the last message that ever he sent to them.

He ended his life with a *Doxology*, breathing out his last, with these words, *The Lord be thanked.*

When he had thus yielded up his Spirit into the hands of his heavenly Father, his daughter *Eunice* dispatched away a Messenger to his Son *John* at *Norwich*: for so had her Father given order before he died, that his body should not be put into a *Coffin* till his Son *John* came: and God carried him through the journey in hard weather, so that through Gods good providence, he arrived at *Belsted* early on the *Tuesday*, and going into the house of mourning, he found the Body of his deceased Father still lying upon the bed: they uncovered his face, and sweetly he lay, and with a smiling countenance, and no difference appearing to the eye between his countenance alive and dead, only that he was wont to rejoyce, and to bless his Son at their meeting, and now he was silent. His son fell upon his face and kissed him, and lift up his voice and wept, and so took his last leave of him till they should meet in a better world.

February the 4th. in the afternoon, *Anno Christi*, His Funeral. 1634. was he Interred, at which time there was a

great confluence of people from all the parts thereabout, Ministers, and others, all taking up the words of *Joash* King of *Israel*: *Oh my Father! my Father! the chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen thereof!*

Good Mr. *Samuel Ward*, that famous Divine, and the glory of *Ipswich*, came to the Funeral, brought with him a mourning Gown, and offered very respectfully to have preached his Funeral Sermon, now that such a Congregation was gathered together, and upon such an occasion.

But his Son, and daughter durst not give way unto it: for so their Father had often charged them in his lifetime, and that upon his blessing, that there should be no Sermon at his burial: For (said he) *it may give occasion to speak some good of me that I deserve not, and so false things may be uttered in the Pulpit.*

Mr. *Ward* rested satisfied with this, and accordingly did forbear: But the next *Friday* at *Ipswich*, he turned his whole Lecture into a Funeral Sermon for Mr. *Carter*, in which he honoured him, and lamented the Churches loss, to the great satisfaction of the whole Auditory. *Gloria fugentes sequitur.*

Glory is like your shadow! follow it, and it will flie away from you; but flie from it, and it will follow you.

His Humility.

And so it proved with Mr. *Carter*: He was most eminent for Humility: Humble he was in his habit, and humble in all his deportment: For though his Gitts called him before great men, yet his most ordinary converse was with those of an inferiour rank; in whom he saw most of the power of godliness. So that he might truly say, with *David*, *Psal.* 119.63. *I am a companion*

of

of all them that fear thee, and of them that keep thy precepts.

He wrote very much; but he left nothing behinde him save what is Printed, and his Exposition upon the *Revelations*; and a Petition to King *JAMES* for the taking away of burdenson Ceremonies out of the Church. Nothing else but a few broken Papers, which he regarded not. Probably he burnt the rest, when he saw his appointed time draw neer, meerly out of a low opinion of himself, and his own gifts.

His Works.

He avoided all things that might tend to outward Pomp, and ostentation: He would have no Funeral Sermon: He left order in his *Will* not to be buried in the Church, but in the Church-yard; where he, and his wife, that glorious pair, lie interred together without so much, or rather so little as a poor Grave-stone over them.

He had learned of Christ to be meek and lowly in heart: He was humble in his Life, and humble in his Death, and now the Lord hath highly exalted him.

He kept a constant *Diary*, or day book, in which every day he set down Gods extraordinary dispensations, his own actions, and whatsoever memorable things he heard, or read that day.

His Diary.

He cast up his Accounts with God every day: and his sins were blotted out before he came to his last reckoning; his day of refreshing came, and he rests from his labours

Plus vivitur exemplis quam preceptis, saith *Seneca*; Examples of the dead, are Sermons for the living:

He was a true child of *Abraham*, and the blessing of *Abraham* fell upon him. *I will bless them* (saith, the

Note.

Lord to him) *that bleſs thee, and I will curſe them that curſe thee.* Some years after his death, his Son *John* being at *Bramford*, there was an ancient Gentleman, that had lived there long, and was *Mr. Carters* old Friend, who ſpake thus unto him, *Mr. Carter, I have now lived to ſee the downfall of all your Fathers oppoſites, and enemies; there is not one of them, but their Families are ſcattered, and come to ruine.* Let all the enemies of Gods faithfull Meſſengers hear and fear, and do no more ſo wickedly.

It may be truly ſaid of him, and his faithful Yoke-fellow, as it is written of *Zacharias* and *Elizabeth*, *they were both righteous before God, walking in all the Commandments, and Ordinances of the Lord blameleſs;* and truly the world will, and can teſtifie, that neither of them did ever do that thing that was evil, or unjuſt, or ſcandalous, or uncomely, even their enemies themſelves being Judges, they were as to men, without blemiſh: their life was a ſweet ſavour, and they went out of this life as a fragrant perfume.

This Life was drawn up by *Mr. John Carter, Junior*, now alſo with the Lord, one who degenerated not from the ſteps of his Learned, and holy Father, and by him was ſent to me ſome years ſince, together with this enſuing Epistle: which I have the rather inſerted, to provoke, and ſtir up others, who can in this way, revive the memories of the Dead Saints, to do it, which will be a more laſting Monument to them, and far more beneficial, and advantageous to the Church of God, than any ſumptuous, and coſtly Funerals, or Grave ſtones whatſoever.

*To his Reverend Brother, and fellow
Labourer in the Lords Vineyard, Mr.
Samuel Clark, Pastor of Bennet
Fink, London.*

Worthy Sir,

T*hat which Naomi spake to Ruth concerning Boaz
He hath not left off his kindnesse to the living,
and to the Dead: It is fully verified of your self: You
cease not to shew kindness to the Living; and to the
Dead. To the Living; by your Preaching, and Mi-
nistery you make Saints daily. To the Dead Saints
you shew kindness, by perpetuating their Names to
their honours, and the good of many: And herein you
are a greater gainer: you shine your self by making
others shine. Amongst the rest of those that honour you
I am one, though I never saw your face, otherwise then
in the Frontispiece of your Learned Books.*

*In the first part of your Marrow of Ecclesiastical Hi-
story, we had information, that you did resolve to add a
second Part, and to put in the Lives of such godly Di-
vines, and others, as were eminent in these latter times,
if you were furnished with faithfull Informations. Here-
upon, divers did set upon me with very great importu-
nity, to write the Life of my dear Father, and to send it
up to you. Truly worthy Sir! I was desirous of the thing,
but durst not undertake the work: I was sensible of mine
own weakness, and also that his sayings, and doings had
so*

to f-- slipped the memories of this Generation, that I should have brought to light such an imperfect thing, as rather would have been a blemish to so eminent a Saint, than any Honour. Hereupon I laid aside all thoughts of meddling, or attempting such a thing. I know that he is glorious in heaven, and on earth too, so far as his name is spread.

Now, good Sir, let me be bold to give a short account of my self. Some few days since I went about to make a new Diary for my self, I was desirous in the first place, to set down some passages of my Father, for mine own satisfaction, and use. I began so, and before I was aware, it amounted to so much, as I thought better that that should be published, than nothing at all: and at last my Spirit grew restless: I could not satisfy my self, till I had digested it into some order, and made it publick. And now, Sir, here it is; I present it to your judicious view; accept it in good part from a meer Stranger.

My humble request to you, Worthy Sir, is this, that, though I slipped the last opportunity, yet if you shall set forth any more Lives; or if you shall have a new Impression of any of the former, that you would extract so much of my precious Fathers Life, as you shall judge fit, and place it where you please in your Ecclesiastical History. Your Monuments will be lasting in after Ages, when my poor Pamphlet will be worn out with time. Pardon my boldness: The Lord lengthen out your days, for the good of his Church, and the honour of his Saints.

Your most observant friend and brother,
that truly Honoureth you,

JOHN CARTER.

*The Life and Death of Mr. Samuel
Crook, who died An. Christi 1649.*

Samuel Crook was born at *Great Waldingfield* in *Suffolk*, *Jan. 17. Anno Christi 1574.* He was a Prophet, and the Son of a Prophet, even of that great, and famous Light, *Dr. Crook*, a Learned, and Laborious Divine, who was sometimes a Preacher to the Honourable Society of *Greys-Inn*; A Gentleman well descended, and of an ancient Family.

His birth.

This our *Samuel* was in his younger years trained up in *Merchant Taylors School* in *London*, and having perfected his Studies there, he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, and admitted into *Pembroke-Hall*, where he was first Scholar, and afterwards chosen Fellow of that House, being chosen by the unanimous consent, and suffrage of all, but the Master, upon whose refusal, he was soon after Elected, and admitted one of the first foundation of Fellows in *Emanuel College*, where, until this day his name is precious, being preserved in their Library amongst their choicest Ornaments of that House in the Catalogue of their first Fellows, thus written;

His education.

Mr. Samuel Crook, Bachelour in Divinity.

From his very youth he was highly esteemed in that University, both for his candid, and ingenuous behaviour in a comely person, as also for his pregnant parts, ready wit, great industry, and admirable proficiency in all kinds of Politic Learning, which renders a man

His Proficiency.

His Prefer-
ment.

His youthly
labours.

more expedite, and exquisite for any worthy, and noble employment, and is more especially preparatory, and introductory to the Study of Sacred *Divinity*: which being observed, and taken notice of, he was first made choice of to be the *Rhetorick* Reader, and afterwards was advanced to be *Philosophy* Reader in the Publick Schools, both which places he performed with general applause.

Amongst his other youthly employments, he translated *Virgil's Eclogues*: the first, and second Books of his *Aeneids*: *Juvenal's* first *Satyre*, and most of the memorable speeches both in *Virgil*, and other Poets; All which were clear demonstrations of his ingenious capacity, and ingenuous sufficiency.

And, to shew that his heart; even in his youth was drawn Heaven-ward (from whence his wit was sanctified) he translated divers of *Dauid's Psalms*, and composed several Sacred *Hymnes* of his own: Some of which he sung with tears of joy, and desire in his last sickness, having a sweet voice, and good skill in *Musick*.

In his younger years also, he was a constant, and diligent hearer, and great admirer of that man of God, Mr. *William Perkins*, and a Reverend Observer of all the most eminent men of that Time, who were famous in their Generation, carefully, and safely laying up in the faithfull Treasury of his Memory what he heard from them; which was an evident presage of his future abilities, and that he was likely to become a skilfull *Master Builder* in the House of God, and an excellent Instrument of winning many souls unto Christ.

He

He was acute in the *Greek*, and well skilled in the *Hebrew* and *Arabick* Tongues, which he sparingly made use of, only upon necessary occasions, not for ostentation, to amuse such hearers as seem to be most pleased with what they least understand; but for the more full, and clear opening of the Text, and giving the genuine interpretation thereof from its Divine Originals, whose full sense, and native Elegancies (proper to every Language) cannot always be expressed to the life without recourse to the Fountains. For as *St. Austin* saith, *Habet omnis Lingua sua queque propria genera locutionum, qua cum in aliam linguam transferuntur, videntur absurda*: Every Language hath its proper kind of speeches, which being translated into another Tongue, seem to be absurd.

A good Linguist.

He very well understood, and spake the *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish* Tongues, and had read very many grave, and witty Authors in each of them, whereof, by the excellency of his wit, he made admirable use even in *Divinity* (which now adays many illiterate persons, most audaciously, and presumptuously defile with unhallowed hearts, and unwashed hands) he being able by an holy *Alchemy* (as was said of *Virgil*, *Aurum de stercore*: he could draw gold out of a Dung-hil) to make every thing serve to his powerfull persuasions, wherein he excelled.

What use he made of them.

He likewise studied *History*, *Politicks*, and *Physick*, of all which he made excellent use in his amplifications, illustrations, and insinuations of more Divine Subjects. Every thing furnished him with more moving expressions of his sweet notions in Prayer, and Preaching, which made him a burning as well as a shi-

A good Artist.

ning Light, with greater brightness and lustre. While he was yet a Fellow in *Emanuel College*, in a due compliance with the pious Statutes of that House, he entered into the Office of the Ministry, Sept. the 24th *Anno Christi* 1601, which he took not upon him as a shelter to save a Fellowship, but to gain souls unto God: For which purpose he immediately betook himself to that Evangelicall work of Preaching, for the most part at a place called *Coxton*, not far from *Cambridge*, and in some other places thereabouts, where (besides the prosecution of his other studies, and performance of sundry exercises in the College) he had preached twenty eight Sermons within the space of eleven moneths: which was a rare thing in those times, when the Fellows of Houses were rather hinderers than furtherers of so good a work, if undertaken by younger men.

His Ordination.

His preaching.

His Gratitude.

After he was transplanted from that Nursery, and sealed in a Pastorall charge many miles distant from that University, to shew his thankfull acknowledgment of the honorary supports of his breeding received from those famous Seminaries, he gave to the Library of *Pembroke-Hall*, Great *Rasls* Works, *Greek* and *Latine* in two Volumes in *Folio*, with these Verses writtē in them, which discovered a specimen of his happy strain, and *Genius* of purer Poëtry, as well as his gratefull minde:

*Qua miki formasti ventros impuberis annis, and
Gravidava, at grvida ingenis felicibus Antea
Pembrochia, Fas sit minimo, veneranda tuorum
Ingenis tenuem officii deponere partem.*

And

And to *Emanuel College Library* he gave all the *Councils in Greek and Latine* of *Binius Edition in Folio*, in five Volumes, with these verses:

*Sacra sacraeque, & studiis Domus hospita sacris
Emanuel, mihi quæ juvenilibus arbitra, capis
Culturam, comites, victum, & gratissima Musis
Oſia porrex i! ſic te naſcentia porro
Facundam clavis mirentur ſacula natis,
Donato ut liceat tantillum reddere tanti.*

And to the *University Library* he gave all *Gregory Nazianzens*, and *Gregory Niſſens Works*, *Greek and Latine*, in four Volumes in *Folio*, with these Verses:

*Accipe parva tuis ſperanda Mater Alumnæ,
Sic te perpetua florentem pube, Nepotum
Sera Manus, Sophia lumen, morumq; Magiſtram,
Artis Preſidium, Britonum decus, Orbis amorem:
Delicia Regum, & fidei venerentur Aſylum.*

Having thus traced his wayes, and procedure in the *University*, we muſt now follow him into the *Country*: For in *September Anno Chriſti 1602*, he was by the cleer, and good providence of God (without the concurrence of the plottings, and contrivances of cunning, or inſinuating friends) fairly, and freely called to the *Pastorall* charg of a great Flock at *Wrington*, a *Market-Town* in the *County of Sommerſet*, being preſented thereunto by that Honourable, and famous Knight *St Arthur Capel of Little Hadam in Hertfordſhire*, Great Grandfather to the Lord Capel now living.

His remove to
Wring on.

There did he (in obedience to his Call) forthwith

His Industry
and Prudence.

settle himself, and immediatly he set upon the work for which he was sent, *viz.* to instruct, and turn unto righteousness that great people, who had never before enjoyed the blessing of a Preaching Minister, or Ministry amongst them (which therefore required the greater skill, and industry of the spirituall Husbandman to manure, and manage, such an incultured plot) so that he was to them (if not to the whole Country adjacent) the first that by preaching the Gospell, brought Religion into credit, and discovered to them the Heavenly *Canaan*, which before was to most of them a *Terra incognita*, as an unknown land, and thereby left them much richer both in spirituals, and temporals than he found them. Insomuch that, he might at length, in a proportion, say of that place as *Augustus*, the Emperour, did of *Rome*, *Lateritiam reperi, marmoream reliqui*: I found it built of bricks, but I left it built of marble.

His Contentment.

Mr. *Crook* having thus pitched, and fixed his Pastoral staff, as he never sought higher, or other earthly preferments (though his capacity, and credit was well known to be such as made him capable of, and opened a ready way for it) so he never accepted of any additions, or accessions of maintenance, or honour, though they were Honourably profered by such Persons as were able to have advanced him.

His holy life.

As for the course of his Ministry, and deportment: his progress was answerable to his beginnings: yea, his works were most, and best at the last: For as he Preached, so he practised: his whole life being but one continued Commentary upon his Doctrine, and an exemplary Sermon consisting of living words, or
of

of words translated into works, as will further appear in its due place.

Few men ever came into a place with greater expectation, which yet he not only satisfied, but exceeded it. Few men could draw after them those affections, and admiration which he did; which also were so far from cooling, and diminishing, as that they encreased, and that deservedly, to his last, rather than decreased amongst all that had learned Christ in humility, and truth.

His esteem

And as for those few silly seduced ones, who were carried away towards his latter end, with a spirit of giddiness, through the secret, and subtle insinuations, and whisperings of false Teachers, in corners (who with as much ignorance as confidence delude the simple, by *great swelling words of vanity*, and uncouth phrases, abhorrent from Christian Religion, sobriety, and truth, and which wise men lament, while fools, who are ignorant of the depths, and methods of Satan, applaud, and admire) endeavoured in their virtigenuous fits, to eclipse his credit, and splendour: yet his pious, and affectionate Essayes to reclaim them with the spirit of meekness, as also his fervent Prayers, and yearning Bowels for their reducing, turned all their revilings to his greater lustre, and glory, amongst all such as were able to discern of things that differ, and willing to approve the things that are excellent.

Not long after Mr. Crook's first settling in this his Pastorall charge, he happily married a Wife of his own Tribe, and after his own heart, who was the eldest daughter of that Reverend Mr. *Walsh*, an holy, and painful Minister in *Suffolk*; a great, and rare Light in his

His Marriage.

His Wives
character.

his time, and famous for his Ministeriall labours, his fervent zeal, and abundant charity. She was a very prudent, and gracious woman, a most loyall, loving, and tender wite, zealous and active for his encouragement, credit, and comfort in all things, especially in his Ministry; to which she constantly bore such hearty respect, and reverence, as did much quicken, and enlarge him in the work of the Lord. She was also continually studious, and carefull to free, and ease him of all emergent occasions, avocations, and busineses of ordinary concernment, that so he might with the more freedom follow (what his soul most delighted in) his diviner imployments, and enjoy himself, and friends in his necessary relaxations. In a word, her behaviour was such *as becometh holiness, a teacher of good things to the younger women*, and in her Family a worthy pattern, and a great promoter of godliness in all that conversed with her, and to her Husband a meet help indeed, and so she continued all the dayes of their conjugall relation. Children he left none, besides those spiritually begotten unto Christ by his labours in the Gospell.

His great
pains.

His great delight, and indefatigable pains in preaching so many years so frequently, was almost beyond all example: for he constantly preached (if in health) thrice a week, besides his extraordinary labours on many emergent occasions which he cheerfully embraced, as rejoycing in all opportunities of doing good, and that abroad as well as at home.

His manner of
preaching.

In all his Sermons (which were many thousands) his expressions were choice, grave, solid, weighty, savoury, and seasonable: His applications home, and pertinent, strongly enforced, and set on from Divine authority

thority by a sweet, and moving elocution, a masculine eloquence, fervent zeal, and strength of love to the souls of the hearers.

He knew very well how to set forth *καὶ, καὶ αὖ,* abstruse points plainly, and how to manage *καὶ, καὶ αὖ,* plain truths elegantly; *not in the words of mans wisdom, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth:* Always speaking in Christ, *as of God in the sight of God.*

He was not like one that makes a Feast once a moneth, or once a quarter, letting his Family beg or starve in the intervals; Nor like such as visit the Pulpit twice every Sabbath day, yet bring no new matter with them scarce once a moneth; but still are setting on the same dishes with a little new garnish, even unto nauseousness: But our Mr. Crook, as he layed in richly, so he layed out liberally, and prudently, like a ready *Scribe instructed to the Kingdom of God;* or a good Householder, *who brings forth of his treasury, things both new, and old.*

And albeit he could by his quick invention, profound Judgment, and faithfull memory (things rarely meeting in the same man) dexterously dispatch that with little labour which costs other men much pains; yet he seriously professed with rejoycing, that he never durst serve God with that which cost him nothing: well knowing that industry adds weight, and respect both to the matter, and speaker, whereby his words became *as goads, and nails fastened by that great Master of the Assemblies, which are given from one Shepherd.*

His Motto was, *Impendat, & expendat:* I will spend, and be spent, which he cheertully verified. For he counted not his life dear in comparison of preaching

His Motto.

the Gospell, and of finishing his course with joy, and the Ministry he had received from the Lord Jesus, to testify the Gospell of the Grace of God. When he was told by his Physician (who was very carefull to preserve his life) that he might live longer if he would preach seldomer: *Alas!* (said he) *If I may not labour I cannot live: what good will life doe me, if I be hindred from the end of living?*

Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas?

His Industry.

When through age, and weakness he was disabled from travelling abroad any more to perfume other Congregations with the sweet odours of his pretious ointment: and when by reason of his years, and infirmities, he might very well (as an *emeritus miles*) have sued out (even in the Court of Heaven it self) a Writ of ease, and have passed the rest of his dayes in rejoycing over his Triumphs, and Trophies: yet would he never give over studying, and Preaching, till all strength of Body gave him over. Yea he often preached, even when his legs almost refused to carry him any more to Church, and that with much spirit, and unexpected vivacity, even as a mighty man refreshed with the Wine of Gods Spirit. And being (some years before his departure) sensible of the daily approaches of Death (which he long expected) to his exhausted, and decayed body, almost ready to be deserted of its Divine Soul; he did severall times preach his own Funerall Sermon (as supposing he should never preach more) and that not without the tears, proceeding from the grief of his loving, and beloved hearers.

His hospitality.

And when after such preaching, and rejoycing in it, he

he invited (as his constant manner was) such Ministers, and Friends as came to hear his Lecture, to his Table; he would force himself to sit with them (although for the most part he was forced to be silent, by reason of the expence of his spirits) and much rejoiced that he had once more employed his Masters Talent, and enjoyed the precious society of Saints *in whom was all his delight.*

He used often to say to his friends that rejoiced with him, and blessed God for him, *that he was nothing but a voice*, as being troubled at the decays of nature growing upon him more, and more, whereby his feeble body was disenabled from serving his still active soul, and his Tongue being no longer able to speak out, at least not so often as he would have had it.

In his Ministry he never strove for vain glory, *nor of men sought he praise*, disdaining to stoop to the lure of popular applaus: and therefore he ever shuned those more gay, and lighter flourishes of a luxuriant wit (which like beautifull weeds, make a fair shew at a distance, but stink neerer hand) wherewith the emptiest Cells affect to be most fraught; Like those, who for want of wares in their shops, set up painted boxes to fill up empty shelves. He fed not his flock with airy dews of effeminate *Rhetorick* (which a masculine Orator would shake off from his pen, and lips (as *S^r Paul* did the Viper from his hand) nor yet with the jerks, and quibbles of a light spirit, which he ever abhorred as the excrementitious superfluities of frothy brains, and unhallowed hearts: but he ever led them out into the *green Pastures* of solid, and savoury truths, as their necessities, and capacities did require. He

His Self. d. ni-
all.

had (and alwayes administred τὸ λογικὸν ἄρτον γάλα, rationall, unadulterated *milk for Babes in Christ*, καὶ τὴν σπέραν σφόδρην, and *strong meat for grown men*.

His prudence
in his Ministry.

He was a wise Master builder, who intending to raise a strong, and beautifull Fabrick, laid a solid Foundation, able, and sufficient to bear, and strengthen all his superstructures. He therefore began his Ministry with a pervous, and perspicuous handling of such Texts as might discover to his People, the Divine Authority, sufficiency, purity, and energy of the holy Scriptures, the ten Commandements, Articles of the Faith, the Lords Prayer, the Doctrine of the Sacraments, God in Trinity, his Decrees, Creation, Providence, of Sin, Christ, the New Covenant, the Fall of Man, the Mediator, the Gospell, Faith, Vocation, Regeneration, Justification, Adoption, Sanctification, Glorification; the Church, the last Judgment, the Christian Warfare, and such like: All which in process of time, he opened, and applied, sometimes more largely, sometimes more briefly; but alwayes profitably, and sweetly, *as a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, but rightly dividing the word of truth in a practicall way.*

His Catechism

Out of all which in his more mature, and riper years, greatest strength of parts, and depth of judgment, he (after many serious reviews) compiled that excellently compacted *Systeme* of Divinity in a Catecheticall way, which he deservedly intituled, *The Guide to true Blessedness*. And out of it he again extracted that lesser Catechisme which he often used, with very profitable, and delightfull explanations, both in his Congregation, and Family. A most profitable, course of teaching, and learning the true knowledg of Christ.

He

He went also through many intire Scriptures (which doth greatly try, and improve a Divine) and the more obscure any place was, the greater was his diligence, with happy success to bring light unto it. Difficulties which are Lions in the way of the sluggard, proved but spurs to his Industry.

He went over many of the *Psalms*, as the 1st, 2^d, 4th, 6th, 10th, 14th, 19th, 22^d, 45th, 50th, 122^d, 127. The twelve first Chapters of *Isay*, *Lamentation* the 3^d, *Habbacuk* the 3^d, the Prophesie of *Malachy*. *Matthew* the 5th, 6th, and 7th Chapters. All the Examples both of good, and bad men in the Scriptures, for imitation of the former, and detestation of the latter. All the Miracles, and Parables of Christ; All *S^t Johns Gospel* (an admirable Commentary:) The twelfth of the *Epistle to the Romans*: the second Chapter of the *Epistle to the Ephesians*: the 2^d, and 3^d to the *Colossians*: the 2^d to the *Thessalonians* Chap. 2. The eleventh of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*: the 2^d, and 3^d Chapters of the *Revelations*, with many more, besides very many Texts suitable to the times on every occasion, being exceeding happy in the choise, and prosecution of them.

Whensoever his Preaching day happened upon *January* the 17, (which was his birth day) he still noted his years compleat, with this *Penitentiall Epiphonema*, *ὁ Θεὸς ἐλεησέτω τὸν ἁμαρτωλόν, God be mercifull unto me a sinner.* A memorable evidence of his pious sence of his own unworthiness in the sight of God, how much soever he was cried up, and esteemed by men. No excellency of naturall abilities, no eminency of spirituall endowments, no acceptation of his labours ever puffed

His Humility.

him up; but that he still walked in all lowliness and humility towards all men, even in his greatest exaltations in the hearts of men.

Much might be said of his long continued course of Catechising, (that most profitable, and speedy way of implanting knowledg) by which he set up so great, and cleer a light in his Congregation, as will not only discover the wisdom, and excellency of the workman, and guid their feet in the wayes of truth, and holiness who have been enlightned thereby: but much facilitate the further polishing of those living stones by succeeding builders.

His powerfull
Prayers.

His Heavenly and Divine spirit of Prayer seemed to excell all other his excellencies, as will be attested by all that heard him in publick, or private, and that ever knew what a Prayer of Faith, elevated to the highest pitch by the Holy Ghost, meaneth, whether they ever found any to excell him, or many to come near him. O! those penitent, unbewelling confessions, earnest deprecations, petitions, panting-longings, and sighings after God, and his Grace; those mighty powerfull Arguments whereby he set all home, feeling Thanksgivings, and divine raptures carrying up his soul to Heaven in the sacred flames of his own Sacrifices; sweetly perfumed with the Incense of him who presenteth all the Prayers of his Saints on the Altar of Grace.

He first brought conceived Prayer into use in those parts, wherein he was so happy, so free from impertinent expressions, and unnecessary repetitions, so rich in piercing supplications, pathetically thanksgivings, and gracious wrestlings with the Almighty; yea, so dexterous

dexterous to apply himself to prefer all suits, and to fit every occasion (like an exquisite Archer, able to shoot to an hairs breadth,) and so prompt, and full in expressing the very hearts of those that indeed joyned with him, in whatsoever they desired for themselves or others, as if, by a kind of transmigration, their souls had passed into his, and spake the very bottom of their hearts by his Tongue, which their own could not utter.

And this was such an opening, and warming of his hearers hearts before his Sermons, and such a sweet closing up of all after his Preaching, as added much to the power, and profit of all his labours, and was to him a transcendent advantage in his whole Ministry. And truly his example took so well with all the godly Ministers that heard him, that they accounted it their great happiness, and honour to follow, and imitate him (with whom yet very few could keep pace) in that most important part of a Ministers work, and office, whereby they might be the more able to pour out their souls, and the souls of their people into the bosom of the Almighty.

In the Orb of his publick Ministry, this fixed Star shined brightly (without the least eclipse, or retrograde motion) somewhat above forty seven years. A long time for such a Lamp to burn, as he did: but his long continuance ministred a fair opportunity of bringing many stragling sheep into Christs fold, the great shepherd of our souls. Once indeed the last Bishop of that Diocess gave a stop to his *Tuesdays Lecture*, but God in mercy to many, set it on going again, and cast him that interrupted it out of his place, while this painfull, and

his long labours.

and faithfull labourer went on with his work.

So much for his publick Ministry: come we now to his private carriage.

His holy life.

His whole Life was exemplary. Take him as a Christian, raised by his Ministeriall function to the height of a Beacon upon an hill, and so his light was great, and his smell very fragrant. He not only kept himself pure and *unspotted of the world*, but his light so shined, that both good men glorified God by *seeing his good works*, and wicked, and foolish men had their mouthes stopped by *his good conversation in Christ*, and were even enforced to give in testimony to it, maugre their malice against his holiness, and worth.

His Family carriage.

In his Family, towards the Wife of his bosom, he walked as a *man of knowledge*, wisdom, and great tenderness of love: Towards the rest of his household, as *David* professed he would do in the 101 *Psalm*, and as a Bishop of *Pauls* description, 1 *Tim. 3.* and *Titus 1.* Yea towards all, as a worthy pattern of love, zeal, humility, meekness, temperance, patience, gravity, and of every good work.

His studiousness,

What his constancy, pains, and diligence was in his studie, the fruits of the great, and long travell of his mind, his Works (which praise him in all the gates of *Sion*) do speak to all the world, beyond that can here be spoken of him. For when all is said that can be spoken of him, so much cannot be said as his own industry speaks.

His usefulness to others.

In his more vacant hours he was far from being idle, or unprofitable. Such as had the happiness (which was never denied to any that desired it) to partake of his private discourses, never returned empty from his

full

full magazine, if they brought but vessels capable of the overflowings of his rich mind, and heart. Very many excellent Lights in the Church have lighted their Torches at his Cœlestial fire. Many young Scholars have been marvellously improved by his prudent, and pious directions, and encouragements in their studies, which now are become excellent instruments in the Church of Christ.

If after his preaching he found no mention made of his Sermon, by which he might collect, that probably some benefit had been reaped by it, he would be much dejected, as if the fault had been in his preaching (even then when he seemed to excell himself,) rather than in his hearers; and used to say, that *if he had preached better, they would have profited more.*

If any Christians came to him for resolution in cases of Conscience, or for counsell in straits, or for comfort in spirituall desertions, or for healing of a wounded spirit, as God had given him an excellent spirit of discerning to judg of their condition, and of the most seasonable applicatives; and an exquisite dexterity to speak *a word in season to the weary*, and fainting soul; so he was never shie, coy, or difficult to be spoken with, nor lotty, or supercilious to any to whom he gave access; but shewed forth all tenderness, pity, and compassion to them: he heard them fully, and patiently and wisely administred to their severall distresses, and ever sent them away (as its said that *Titus Vespasianus* did his suitors) not only not grieved, but very well satisfied, and abundantly comforted.

He was very bountifull to his kindred that needed it, and then most when their necessities swelled highest.

His skill to
comfort others

His Charity.

He was very charitable, and open handed to the poor members of Jesus Christ: And albeit his charity shined most to those of his own flock, yet was it not shut up from strangers, but he was very liberall to them also as he found occasion. Yea, when he went abroad to bestow the Gospell freely upon other Congregations adjacent, such poor as he found to be hearers (unless they were known to him to take up hearing as a cloke to cover their idleness, and neglect of their callings) never went home empty handed, but he alwayes warmed, and cheered them with his bounty, as well as instructed them with his Doctrine.

His hospitality

How much he was given to Hospitality, Gentlemen, Ministers, Neighbours, Strangers, and the Poor, must needs give in such an ample testimony as will hardly be credited by such as knew him not, and are strangers to a bountifull heart. He spared from himself to administer unto others; minding more the wooing of many to receive benefit by his Ministry (some of whom might perhaps at first follow him for the loaves) than to lay up largely for such as he should leave behind him: and choosing rather to be at a continuall charge to encourage men by his bounty) than to suffer them to be unprovided for, when they came to partake of his Ministry.

His humility.

When he conversed with Ministers, his Humility usually put him into the place of a learner: but in learning he taught, and by teaching he learned more. He was so good, and skilfull a *Chymick*, that he seldom parted with such company, till he had gotten something by them: yet were they sure to be the greatest gainers, and he alwayes accounted it the best bargain, when others were gainers by him.

His

His constant, and continuall preaching, seldom allowed him the much desired opportunity of hearing others: but when he could enjoy that benefit, he greedily laid hold of it: and then would this painfull Bee gather Hony from every Flower, making a good use of the meaneſt gifts, and improving his own rich Talent by dipping it into theirs. Nor was he ever heard to ſlight or diſparage the labours of any the leaſt of his Brethren, that ſincerely endeavoured to bring in ſouls unto Chriſt: but alwayes he encouraged them, and as he found cauſe, informed, and directed them, and that in a prudent, and taking way, to their great advantage.

In his mirth (to which he ſometimes unbended himſelf to recreate his overwearied mind, that with renewed ſtrength he might return to his more ſerious, and ſeverer ſtudies) he ſtrictly obſerved the bounds of honeſty, civility, modeſty, and the gravity of his place; well conſidering, that the leaſt dead fly in the Apothecaries choiſeſt Oyntment, cauſeth it to ſend forth an unpleaſing ſavour.

His mirth.

The Table was uſually the place of his greateſt liberty in this kind, yet even there he would ſtill interlace mirth with ſome ſprinklings of a more ſerious wit, which might inſtruct as well as exhilarate, and make cheerful; and contained all within the limits of ſobriety, without biting ſarcaſmes, or unbefeeming ſcarrility. And uſually he cloſed all with reading ſome portion of Scripture, and giving ſome ſhort, and profitable inſtructions thereupon, which might adminiſter Grace to the hearers, and leave a ſweet ſavour, and reſiſh upon their ſpirits, and whole converſe.

His Table-Talk.

To give you a true, and full Character of his whole deportment

His Character

deportment in few words. He was a good, and a faithful Steward in his Masters house, *always abounding in the work of the Lord*, a Pillar in the house of his God, never weary of his Lords work, but best pleased when he had done most service. His conversation was immaculate, and unblameable: His behaviour uniform, and universally pious. He was grave without austerity, pleasant without levity: Courteous without dissembling: Free in discourse where he might profit, yet reserved where he saw cause: He was seldom the first speaker although he was best able to speak. He loved usefull discourse, but abhorred froth, and babbling. He was witty without vanity, facetious without girding, or grieving of others. He knew his place, yet was not insolent: Resolute he was, but not willfull: He maintained his authority, but was not haughty. A great Master he was of his own Passions, and Affections, and thereby abundantly furnished with the more abilities, and embellishments that most attract, and maintain the dearest love, the deepest reverence, and highest respect. He was a great admirer of Learning, and Piety in others, though they were far below himself in both: His affections were above, though he were below: He conversed more with Heaven than with earth while he remained on it, and is now *a Crown of Glory in the hand of the Lord, and a Royall Diadem in the hand of his God*, as being an ornament unto Heaven it self.

His long life.

He lived in the world seventy five years (within one moneth,) in which long race he saw many sad changes, and sore storms beating hard upon the Church, tossed with tempests, and not yet at Anchor. But never was

David more distressed for his dearest *Jonathan*, than this man of Bowels was for the calamities of the dear Spouse of Christ. He was most incessantly inquisitive after the Churches estate in all Countries; A sad lamenter of all her afflictions; A daily Orator, and mighty Advocate for her at the Throne of Grace, and never enjoyed himself, but when he descried her under sail towards some Creek, or Haven, wherein she might find comfort, and rest: being much in Prayer and Fasting for her full reformation, and perfect deliverance.

His sympathy.

Some good hopes whereof he conceived in the prosperous achievements of the Great *Gustavus Adolphus*, late King of *Sweden* (*semper Augustus*.) But when he by the sad, and unsearchable providence of the only wise God, suddenly, and untimely fell, in the full career of his victories, and of the Churches hopes, and that the Christian world was by his fall, hurled from the height of so great expectation, he continually mourned over the unhappy setting of that glorious *Northern* Starre, as a sad presage of all the inundations of miseries since befallen, and that still are rising higher, and higher upon the Church of Christ, the quick, and deep sence whereof lay close upon his heart to his dying day.

His afflictions.

Neither was he without his sufferings, and dangers in our uncivil Civil Wars. He was affronted by rude *Russians*, and bloody minded Souldiers, who tyrannized over him in his own house; not permitting him quietly to enjoy himself, and his God in his private study, to which he often retired, not only from their insolencies, but from their Blasphemies: Even thither would they pursue him with drawn swords, vowing his instant Death for not complying with them in their bloody

Gods providence.

engagements. Yet it pleased that gracious God whom he had so faithfully served, to preserve him for further service, and to make that an hiding place for his preservation which they intended for his slaughter house, and after all, to bring him to his end in peace.

His death.

When he had faithfully served his Generation, by the will of God, in the Gospel of his Son for above forty seven years, he was gathered to his Fathers in a good old Age, full of Days, and Honour, by a blessed, and happy Death (the certain result of an holy life) *Decemb. 25. Anno Christi 1649.* the day formerly used for celebrating the Nativity of his great Lord and Master, the Lord Jesus Christ.

His Funeral.

The last Testimony of the Peoples great love to him must not be forgotten by any that desire to preserve his precious memory in their hearts with honour. This amply appeared by their great lamentation, and mourning for him in his sickness, and at his Death, and sad Exequies. His Funeral was extraordinarily celebrated, not only by the voluntary confluence of the greatest number of people that ever crouded into the spacious Fabrick of that Church; and by many hundreds more thereassembled about the door, which were unable to get in: But by multitudes of Gentlemen, and Ministers, all striving to out-mourn each other, standing about his Hearse with tears, recounting his excellent Labors, his fruitfull Life, their great profiting by him (as sometimes the widows about *Peter*, weeping, and shewing the coats, and garments which *Dorcas* made while she was with them) every one aggravating their griefs, and losses in his gain, and striving who should honour him most in bearing his Body to the bed of Rest.

The

The Testimony given him at his Interment by him who performed that last office of love with many tears, and which he knowingly spake from his long, and intimate acquaintance, and conversing with him almost forty years together, take with you for a close in that Ministers own words out of the Pulpit.

The Testimony at his Funeral.

‘ Although (said he) Funeral Orations are commonly, either the vain flourishes of mercenary tongues, or the weak supports of an emendicated fame; and since good mens works shall praise them in the gates, it is but to light a candle to the Sun: and since bad mens works cannot be covered with so thin a daub; It is but to paint a rotten Post. Yet some Testimony is due to such as having obtained a more eminent place in Christs mystical Body, the Church, have also been instruments of more than ordinary good to his Members. *Samuel* died a Judge, a Prophet, a Great man, a Good man in *Israel*, and all the *Israelites* were gathered together (to honour his Oblequies) and lamented him, and buried him, 1 *Sam.* 25. 1.

‘ To say nothing then of so rich a Cargazoon, so full a Magazine, so rare a subject of all commendable qualities, and admirable endowments, were a frustrating of your eager expectations.

‘ To say little, were a wrong to him that deserved so much; to say much, were both a derogation from his merits, that may challenge, and an imputation upon your Judgements and affections that will acknowledge more due, than I can now deliver. Nevertheless, since the memorial of the Just is a sweet perfume, give me leave to strew a few of his own flowers upon his Herse, and I will discharge your Patience.

‘ His

' His holy Life, and consciencious courses, his constant Labors thrice a week in the Ministry of the Gospel (unless in times of sickness, or necessitated restraint) for the space of forty seven years (wherein he could give an account of above seven thousand elaborate Sermons preached by him) are so well known, not only in this, or the neighbour Parishes, but through the whole County, and the Country round about, that I need not mention them.

' Few men ever ran so long a Race without cessation, or cessation, so constantly, so unweariedly, so unblamably.

' All which time he was a *burning, and a shining light*, joyfully spending, and being spent for the good of Gods people. Many, many of whom he hath guided to Heaven before him, who received the beginnings of spiritual life from his Ministry; and many more shall walk in that light after him.

' And from his splendid Lamp, divers faithfull Ministers (some Triumphant before him, some Militant after him) have lighted their Candles: His *Tuesdays Lecture* being more profitable to teach usefull Divinity than an *Academy*, whereby he did not only, *Dolare lapides, sed artifices*.

' Two things (rarely met in one man) were both eminent in him: A quick invention, and a sound judgement, and these accompanied with a clear expression, and a gracefull elocution. To which Integrity, and Humility being joyned, made him a transcendent Minister, and a compleat Christian.

' In his sickness (full of biting pains, which he bore with great Patience) it was his greatest grief that

 ' God

' God had taken him off from his labour, which was
 ' his life and joy. His heavenly mind (like the heaven-
 ' ly bodies) counted his work no weariness. If he were
 ' weary in work, he was yet never weary of work.
 ' His spirit was still willing when the flesh was weak :
 ' And he often used to say in his health, *Si per hanc*
 ' *viam mors, sum immortalis :* and in his weakness, *Odi*
 ' *artus, fragilemque hunc corporis usum desertorem*
 ' *animi.*

' And when he saw no more ability for labors, he
 ' accounted it superfluous to live ; and chearfully, not
 ' only yielded, but patiently desired to die, in a satiety,
 ' and fulness of life ; not as meat loathed (as many
 ' times natural men do) but as a dish, though well liked,
 ' that he had fed his full of.

' He had his intellectuals strong in a weak body ;
 ' witness his last Swan-like song in this place, the sweet
 ' Doctrine of our Adoption in Jesus Christ, on *Rom.*
 ' 8.16. (so far he had gone in that Chapter) most
 ' clearly, and acurately delivered, and aptly distinguish-
 ' ed from Justification, and sanctification : yet that day,
 ' *October 16.* going to Church, and sensible of his
 ' own weakness, he said to a dear Friend (who told him
 ' that he came to see, and hear him) perhaps it may be
 ' my last ; as to all our loss, it was indeed.

' And as if his motion in Gods work, had been na-
 ' tural, he was more quick, more vigorous toward his
 ' Center, and, like the Sun, shewed his greatest light,
 ' when he was nearest his setting.

' His last Ministerial duty privately done in great
 ' weakness of Body (unable to go to the Church) was
 ' the Baptizing of two children, wherein he stream-

‘ed such beames of Divinity ; founded such
 ‘bowels of Humanity, shewed such sweetness of
 ‘affection to his charge, that I seriously wished his
 ‘whole Congregation had heard him, in this departing
 ‘farewell. And being told how well it was approved,
 ‘he replied with tears, in great humility, *Lord, what*
 ‘*am I ? What am I ?*

‘To diverle of his loving Neighbours, visiting him,
 ‘he often protested, that Doctrine that he had taught
 ‘them, was the truth of God, as he should answer at
 ‘the Tribunal of Christ, whereunto he was hasting,
 ‘exhorting them to stand fast therein, as he most af-
 ‘fectionately prayed for them, professing of them
 ‘with joy, *I have kind friends, kind neighbours, Lord*
 ‘*reward them all, and grant they may find mercy with*
 ‘*him in that day.*

‘His desire was to give to his Neighbours (if enough
 ‘could have been had his Printed Catechism, which
 ‘(to my knowledge) hath had the approbation, and
 ‘commendation of the profoundest, and accutest
 ‘Judgements in both Universities ; and well it might,
 ‘being a compleat Body of Orthodox Divinity, and
 ‘to have this assertion of the Apostle *Peter* written be-
 ‘fore it, --- *Exhorting, and testifying that this is the true*
 ‘*Grace of God wherein ye stand---* and to subscribe his
 ‘name to it.

‘After he had in himself received the sentence of
 ‘death approaching (which he chearfully did, when he
 ‘saw no more likelihood of Labour) he desired his
 ‘Friends not to pray for his life ; but *pray God* (said he)
 ‘*for Faith, for Patience, for Repentance, for joy in the*
 ‘*Holy Ghost ;* and the Lord heard him in that he desi-
 red.

red, for he was a rare pattern in all these, as (amongst many others) these gracious words of his may witness, *Lord (said he) cast me down as low as Hell in Repentance, and lift me up by faith to the highest Heavens in confidence of thy salvation.*

I wish our proud, presumptuous, impenitentiaries had heard him crying for Repentance, and seen him weeping for Grace. It might, perhaps, have melted their stony hearts.

As he was full of days, so was he full of grace, full of peace, full of assurance: The *Tuesday* before he departed, *This day seven night (said he) is the day on which we have used to remember Christs Nativity, and on which day I have preached Christ, I shall scarce live to see it; but, For me was that Child born, unto me was that Song given, who is, Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of peace.*

And no less full was he of true Honour for his worth, and work sake in the hearts of all that feared God, his memory shall be blessed, and his name a sweet perfume to posterity, when the names of his reproachfull scorers (the last brood of *Beelzebub*) shall rot, and stink, and be an abhorring to all flesh.

He is now come to the end of his labour, and the beginning of his rest. His work was with his God, and his reward shall be from his God: Now he sees the blessed, and blessing face of God, which is the glory of all sights, and the sight of all glory.

Thus set this bright *Occidental Star*: A Star of the first Magnitude. One of the first, and I dare say (without envy of any, that knew him, and that knows

‘himself) one of the most glorious Lights that ever
 ‘shone in this Orb, or ever is like to arise in this Ho-
 ‘rizon. O! how is such a publick loss to be lamented!
 ‘Of such a Champion of Christ! Such an *Atlas* of
 ‘the Truth! that set his shoulders to support the sha-
 ‘ken pillars thereof in these days of abounding, and
 ‘abetted errors.

‘Well may this Parish mourn, well may this Coun-
 ‘try, well may his Friends, his Family: well may we
 ‘of the Ministry bewail it, saying, *O my Father, my*
 ‘*Father, the Chariots of Israel, and the Horsemen there-*
 ‘*of! Ah my Brother, my Brother! I am distressed for*
 ‘*thee, very pleasant hast thou been unto me: Lovely and*
 ‘*gracious in Life, lovely and glorious in Death.*

————— *Hæu tua nobis*
Morte simul tecum solatia rapta!

‘I end in one word of Exhortation,

‘You that have heard the joyfull sound of this (now
 ‘broken) silver Trumpet so long, remember that by
 ‘the space of forty, and seven years, *he ceased not to*
 ‘*warn every one with tears*: Remember what he hath
 ‘spoken while he lived: Remember what he yet speaks
 ‘being Dead? Hold fast *the form of sound words* which
 ‘ye have heard of him. Hold fast the faithfull word
 ‘which he hath taught you. Hold fast the *profession*
 ‘*of your Faith without wavering*. Take heed of wolves:
 ‘Beware of Dogs: Take heed of men: Men of per-
 ‘verse minds, speaking perverse things *to draw dis-*
 ‘*ciples after them*. Although the Prophets die, yet
 ‘Gods word spoken by them shall live for ever, and
 ‘will

‘will do good to them that walk uprightly, and shall
‘take hold on them that obey it not.

‘So let us leave our Brother in the Bed of Honour,
‘till the joyfull morning of the Resurrection of the
‘just, when he, amongst them that have turned many
‘unto righteousness, shall shine as the Stars, for ever,
‘and ever.

The Righteous shall be had in everlasting remembrance, Psal. 112.6.

The issues of his brain and heart made publick, were only these;

First, that exquisite, and accurate, *Guide to true blessedness* (so often reprinted, and so highly esteemed by all that read it through, with understanding, and care. His Works.

Then (at several times) he gave way to four occasional, and select Sermons, viz. *The Waking sleep. The Ministerial Husbandry. The Discovery of the Heart; and Death subdued.*

That wherein he had taken most pains (which since is published in Print by Dr. Burgess, and Mr. W. Gregory) is an excellent Treatise, wherein his main design, in very apposite, and acutely distinguishing Characters, was to lay open, not those more apparent, and obvious contrarieties of virtues in Holy, and vices in wicked men, evident unto ordinary capacities upon the first aspect; but the more hidden, and less discerned difference between the plausibly-seeming virtues of evil men, and the real Graces of the truly Godly: as likewise between the reigning sins of Hypocrites, and the daily infirmities of the Saints, which many times, even by quick-

sighted Spectators, are both mistaken.

In prosecution whereof, he first brings forth the Hypocrite in his best dress, and attire, and then lets by him a Regenerate man living up to his Rule: adding the differences between them, thereby to unmask the Hypocrite, and to detect his Inroachments upon the name, and priviledges of the Saints. Secondly, he lets out a true Childe of God, labouring under infirmities, and an Hypocrite under the power of sin (which cannot consist with saving Grace) notwithstanding all his flourishes, that so he may clearly distinguish a Christian in black, from a Counterfeit in white, and between the bewailed weaknesses of the Saints, and the wilfull wandrings of the wicked.

A work no less needfull to all, than gratefull to the Soul-sound, self-searching Christian, that labours for sincerity, and the assurance of it. But the iniquity of the Times, full of Hypocrisie, and Atheism, hating, and hindering such discoveries, and by all means discouraging those that would make them (together with the Authors constant Employment, even unto the impairing of his strength, and spirits in feeding his Flock) disabled him from compleating that admirable Piece.

Sundry other issues of his fertile, and excellent wit, and curious Invention he left behind him, as divers choice, and sacred *Aphorisms*, *Anatomica*, *Nosognostica*, *Pathologica*, *Therapeutica*, *Physiologica*, and *Prophylactica*: As also divers Divine *Emblemes*, and Similitudes; all eminent demonstrations of his exquisite abilities, and profitable improvements of them.

THE

*The Life and Death of Mr. John
Cotton, who died An. Christi 1652.*

John Cotton was born at Derby, Anno Christi 1584. His Birth.
His Parents were persons of considerable quality, and of good reputation. Their condition, as to the things of this life, competent: neither unable to defray the expences of his education in good literature, nor so abounding, as to be a temptation on the other hand unto the neglect thereof: and God, who had then pre-determined this then tender plant, to be a Tree of Life, for the feeding of many thousands, and to be a chosen Vessel to bear his Name before the Nations, in way thereunto, he inspired his Parents with an effectuall sollicitude concerning the ordering of this their Son in his minority.

This care in his Parents was quickly above expectation answered in the first-fruits of their Sons proficiency, who more, and more encreased great hopes concerning him throughout the whole time of his minority, wherein he was trained up in the *Grammar School* of Derby. His education

When he was about the age of thirteen, he was admitted into *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, where his industry was great, and his profiting in the Arts, and Languages above his equals, so far commended him to the Master, and Fellows, as that he had undoubtedly been chosen Fellow of that College, had not their extraordinary expence about building of their great Hall

at

at that time put it by, or at least, deferred their election, untill some longer time.

His remove to
Emanuel.

From *Trinity* he was removed to *Emanuel*, that happy Seminary both of Piety, and Learning: and in that Society the Lord gave him favour, so that in due time he was honoured with a Fellowship amongst them; when he was elected to it, after a diligent, and strict examination according to the Statutes of the College; wherein this is not unworthy the taking notice of; that when the Poser came to examine him in the *Hebrew* Tongue, the place that he made triall of him by, was that portion of Scripture, *Isaiah* the 3^d, wherein the Prophet declaims against the pride, and haughtiness of the *Daughters of Sion*; which Text hath more hard words in it, than any other place of the Bible, within so short a compass: and therefore, though a present construction, and resolution thereof, might have put a good *Hebrician* to a stand, yet such was his ability, and dexterity, as made those hard words facil, and easie, and rendred him a prompt respondent. And this providence is further remarkable about him, That whereas his Father (whose calling was towards the Law) was but obscure, and had not many Clients that made use of his advice in Law-matters before; it pleased God after his Sons going to *Cambridg*, to bless him with great practice, so that he was very able to keep him there, and to allow him full, and liberall maintenance; Insomuch as this blessed man hath been oft heard to say, *God kept me in the University*.

Gods providence.

His Industry.

Being thus advanced, he was in the place of improvement, beset with Examples as so many objects of better emulation. If he slacken his pace, his competitors will

will leave him behinde : and though he quicken it, there are still those that are before him : But he was, not only a lover of Labour, but Communicative of his Learning, and therefore he proved a diligent Tutor, and had many young Students committed to his care. He was a *Didactical* man, both able, and apt to teach : and truly ability to instruct youth argues a Wise man : and to be willing to teach, argues a good man : For goodness is communicative : And such was his *Academical* dexterity, that he could impart (as *Scaliger* speaks) the felicities of wit to his hearers, so accomodating and insinuating the matter in hand, as that his Pupils might both perceive their profiting, and taste the sweetness of that wherein they profited. Thus by his School-stratagems he won the hearts of his Pupils both to himself, and to a desire of Learning : they were each to other as the Prophets, and the sons of the Prophets : his Pupils were honourers, and lovers of him : and he was a Tutor, a Friend, and a Father unto them.

His prudence.

The manner of his Conversion, according to his own relation was thus. During his residence in the University, God began to work upon him by the Ministry of Mr. *William Perkins* of blessed memory : But the motions, and stirrings of his heart which then were, he suppressed, thinking that if he should trouble himself with matters of Religion, according to the light he had then received, it would be an hinderance to him in his Studies, which then he had much addicted himself unto. Therefore he was willing to silence those suggestions, and inward Callings which he had from Gods Spirit, and did wittingly defer the prosecution

His Conversion.

tion of that work until afterwards. At length, as he was walking in the fields, he heard the Bell tolling for Mr. *Perkins*, who lay a dying, whereupon he was secretly glad in his heart, that he should now be rid of him, who had (as he said) laid siege to, and beleaguered his heart. This became matter of much affliction to him afterwards, God keeping it upon his Spirit, with the aggravation of it, and making it an effectual means of convincing, and humbling him in the sight, and sense of the natural enmity that is in mans nature against God. Afterwards hearing Dr. *Sibs* (then Mr. *Sibs*) preaching a Sermon about Regeneration, wherein he shewed, First, what Regeneration was not, and so opening the state of a meer Civil man, Mr. *Cotton* saw his own condition fully discovered, which (through Gods mercy) did drive him to a stand, as plainly seeing himself, destitute of true Grace, all his false hopes, and grounds now failing him: and so he lay for a long time, in an uncomfortable despairing way: and of all other things this was his heaviest burden, that he had wittingly withstood the means, and offers of Grace and mercy which he found had been tendered to him; thus he continued till it pleased God to let in a word of Faith into his heart, and to cause him to look unto Christ for his healing, which word also was dispensed unto him by the same Doctor *Sibs*, which begat in him a singular, and constant love to the said Doctor, of whom he was also answerably beloved.

His Oratory.

That which first made him famous in *Cambridge*, was his Funeral Oration for Doctor *Some*, Master of *Peter House*, which was so accurately performed in respect

respect of Invention, Elegancy, Purity of Stile, Ornaments of *Rhetorick*, Elocution, and Oratorious beauty of the whole, as that he was thenceforth looked at as another *Xenophon*, or *Musa Attica*, throughout the University.

Some space of time intervening, he was called to preach at St. *Maries*, where he preached a University Sermon, with high Applause from the *Academical* Wits, insomuch as the fame of his Learning grew greater, and greater. And afterwards being again called to preach in the same place (as one Oration of *Pericles* left his hearers with an Appetite after another) so the memory of his former accurate Exercises, filled the Colleges, especially the young Students, with a fresh expectation of such Elegancies of Learning, as made them flock to the Sermon with an *Athenian* Itch after some new thing, as to the ornaments of *Rhetorick*, and abstruser notions of *Philosophy*. But his spirit now favouring of the Cross of Christ more than of humane Literature, and being taught of God to distinguish between the *Word of Wisdom*, and the Wisdom of Words, *his speech, and preaching was not now with the enticing words of mans wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit, and of power.*

The disappointed expectation of the Auditory soon appeared in their countenances, and the discouragement of their non-acceptance returned him unto his Chamber, not without some sad thoughts of heart: Where yet he had not been long, but lo, Dr. *Preston* (then Mr. *Preston*) knocks at his Chamber door, and coming in, acquainted him with his spiritual condition, and tells him how it had pleased God to work effectually

He converted
Dr. *Preston*.

ally upon his heart by that Sermon: After which Dr. *Preston* ever highly prized him, and both fully, and strongly closed with him: which real Seal of God unto his Ministry much comforted his soul, far above what the present less acceptance of the Auditory had dejected him, or their former acceptance had encouraged him.

His great
Learning.

His *Concio ad Clerum*, or *Latine* Sermon, which he preached when he proceeded Bachelor of Divinity (which was after he had been at *Boston* about half a year) was very much admired, and commended. His Text was, *Mat. 5. 13. Vos estis sal terra: quod si sal infatuatus fuerit, quo salietur?* Ye are the salt of the earth; but if the salt hath lost its savour, wherewith shall it be salted? In handling of which Text, both the weight of the matter, the elegancy of Phrase, *Rhetorical* strains, grave, sweet, and spiritual pronounciation, rendred him yet more famous. The like did his answering of the Divinity Act in the Schools, having a very acute Opponent [*Mr. William Chappel*] to dispute with him. So that in *Cambridge* the name of Mr. *Cotton* was much set by.

His call to
Boston.

Unto this earthen vessel, thus filled with Heavenly Treasure, the Inhabitants of *Boston* in *Lincolnshire*, made their address, saying, *Come and help us*. And in that Candlestick the Father of Lights placed this burning, and shining Light: To whom he removed from *Cambridge*: about the twenty eight year of his Age. At his first coming, he met with some obstructions from the *Diocesan*, then Bishop *Barlo*, who told him that he was a young man, and therefore unfit to be set over such a divided people: Mr. *Cotton* being
inge-

ingenious, and undervaluing himself, thought so too, and purposed to return to the College again: But some of his *Boston* Friends, understanding that one *Simon Biby* was to be spoken with, who was neer to the Bishop, they presently charmed him, and so the business proceeded without any further trouble, and Mr. Cotton was admitted into the place after their manner in those days.

Two things are here not unworthy our observation, which Mr. Cotton would sometimes speak of to his Friends: First, That in the beginning of his Ministry he was exercised with some inward troubles which much dejected him. And indeed, good spirits are much bettered by their conflicts with the worst of spirits: Spiritual Preachers are often trained up in the School of temptation. So true is that *Theological maxime*, Meditation, Prayer, and Temptation make a Divine. This Dispensation of the All-wise God, he afterwards found, not only to be beneficiall unto him, in preparing his heart for his work: but also that it became an effectual means of his more peaceable, and comfortable settlement in that place, where the people were divided amongst themselves, by reason of a potent man in the Town, who adhered to another *Cambridge* man whom he would faine have brought in. But when he saw Mr. Cotton wholly taken up with his own exercises of spirit, he was free from all suspicion of his being Pragmatical, or addicted to siding with this or that party; and so both he and his party began to close more fully with him.

Secondly, Whereas there was an *Arminian* party in that Town, some of whom were witty, and troubled

His Temptations.

others with Disputes about those points; by Gods blessing upon his Labours in holding forth positively such truths, as undermined the foundations of *Arminianism*, those Disputes ceased, and the Tenets of *Arminianism* were no more pleaded for. Thus God disposeth of the hearts of hearers, as that generally they are all open and loving to their Preachers at their first entrance.

His troubles.

For three or four years he lived, and preached amongst them without opposition. They accounted themselves happy (as well they might) in the enjoyment of him; both the Town and Country thereabouts being much bettered, and reformed by his Labours. But after he was not able to bear the Ceremonies imposed, his *Non-Conformity* occasioned his trouble in the Bishops Court at *Lincoln*, from whence he was advised to appeal to an higher Court: and imploying Mr. *Leveret* (who afterwards was one of the *Ruling Elders* of the Church of *Boston* in *New England*) to deal in that business, and he (like *Jacob*) being a plain man, yet piously subtle to get such a spiritual blessing, so far insinuated himself into one of the Proctors of that high-Court, that Mr. *Cotton* was treated by them, as if he were a Conformable man, and so was restored unto *Boston*.

His Labours.

After this time he was blessed with a successfull Ministry unto the end of twenty years. In which space he on the Lords Dayes in the afternoons, went over the whole Body of Divinity in a *Catechistical* way thrice, and gave the heads of his Discourse to those that were yong Scholars, & others in the Town, to answer his questions in publick in that great congregation: and

and after their Answers, he opened those heads of Divinity; and finally applied all to the edification of his people, and of such strangers as came to hear him. In the morning of the Lords Dayes he preached over the first six Chapters of the Gospel of *St. John*: the whole Book of *Ecclesiastes*; the Prophecie of *Zachariah*, and many other Scriptures; and when the Lords Supper was administred (which was usual every month) he preached upon, *1 Corinth. II.* & *2 Chron. 30.* the whole Chapter, besides some other Scriptures concerning that subject. On his Lecture days, he preached through the whole first, and second Epistles of *John*; the whole Book of *Solomons Song*; the Parables of our Saviour set forth in *Matthews* Gospel to the end of Chapter the 16th. comparing them with *Mark* and *Luke*: He took much pains in private, and read to sundry young Scholars that were in his House, and to some that came out of *Germany*, and had his house full of Auditors: Afterwards, seeing some inconvenience in the Peoples flocking to his House, besides his ordinary Lecture on the *Thursdays*, he preached thrice more in publick on the week days: viz. on *Wednesdays*, and *Thursdays*, early in the morning, and on *Saturdays* at three a clock in the afternoon. Only these three last Lectures were performed by him but some few years before he had another famous Colleague:

He was frequent in Duties of Humiliation, and Thanksgiving: Sometimes he continued five or six hours in Prayer, and opening the Word: So indefatigable was he in the Lords Work: so willing to spend, and be spent therein. Besides, he answered many Letters

His Industry.

His holy Duties.

ters

ters that were sent him far and near, wherein were handled many difficult Cases of Conscience, and many doubts cleared to great satisfaction.

Gods providence.

He was a man exceedingly beloved, and admired of the best, and revered of the worst of his Hearers. He was in great favour with Dr. *Williams*, the then Bishop of *Lincoln*, who much esteemed him for his Learning, and when he was *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal, he went to King *James*, and speaking of Mr. *Cottons* great Learning and worth, the King was willing, notwithstanding his *Non-conformity*, to give way that he should have his *Liberty* in his Ministry without interruption: which was the more remarkable considering how that Kings Spirit was carried out against such wayes. Also, the Earl of *Dorchester*, being at *Old Boston*, and hearing Mr. *Cotton* preaching about Civil Government, he was so affected with the wisdom of his words, and spirit, that he did ever after highly account of him, and put himself forth what he could in the time of Mr. *Cottons* troubles to deliver him out of them, that so his *Boston* might still enjoy him as formerly; but his desires were too strongly opposed to be accomplished.

His Marriage.

About this time he married his second Wife, *Mistress Sarah Story*, then a Widow. He was blessed above many in his Marriages, both his Wives being pious Matrons, grave, sober, and faithfull. By the first he had no children: the last, God made a fruitfull Vine unto him: His first-born was brought forth far off upon the Sea, in his passage to *New England*: So that he being childless when he left *Europe*, arrived a joyfull Father in *America*: In memorial whereof he called

called his name *Sea-born*, to keep alive (said he) in me, and to teach my Son, if he live, a remembrance of *Sea-mercies*, from the hand of a gracious God: He is yet living, and entred into the Work of the Ministry. A Son of many Prayers, and of great expectation.

The corruption of the times being now such, that he could not continue in the exercise of his Ministry without sin; and the envy of his maligners having now procured *Letters Missive* to convent him before the *High Commission Court*, which Letters a debauched Inhabitant of that Town undertook to serve upon him (who shortly after died of the Plague.) Mr. Cotton having intelligence thereof, and well knowing that nothing but scorns, and imprisonment were to be expected from them, according to the advice of many able heads, and upright hearts (amongst whom that holy man of God, Mr. *Dod*, of blessed memory, had a singular influence) he kept himself close for a time, in, and about *London*, as *Luther* sometime did at *Wittenberg*; and *Paras* since at *Anvilla*: Yet was not that season of his recess unprofitable: For addresses during that time were made unto him privately by divers persons of worth, and piety, who received satisfaction from him in their Cases of Conscience of greatest concernment. And when he went into *New England*, it was not a flight from duty, but from evident danger, and unto duty: Not from the profession of the truth, but unto a more opportune place for the profession of it.

When Mr. Cotton arrived at *New England*, his manner of entrance unto them was with much blessing. For at his first coming he found them not free

His troubles.

Gods judgement on a persecutor.

He flies into New Engl.

His arrivall in New Engl.

A speciall providence.

from troubles about settling the matters both of Church and Commonwealth. At which time, being requested, he preached before the general Court: His Text was, *Haggai 2.4. Yet now be Strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, Be strong, O Joshua the son of Josedek, the High Priest, and be strong all ye people of the Land, saith the Lord, and work: For I am with you, saith the Lord of Hosts: And the Lord working mightily by this Sermon, all obstructions were presently removed, and the spirits of all sorts, as one man, were excited unanimously, and vigorously in the work of the Lord from that very day.*

Magistrates and Ministers united.

In order whereunto, the Court considering, that all the Members of that *Republick*, were also Church Members, and therefore to be governed according to the Law of God, they desired Mr. Cotton to draw an abstract of the *Judicial Laws* delivered from God to *Moses*, so far forth as they were of Moral, *i.e.* of perpetual, and universal equity; which accordingly he did, advising them to persist in their purpose of establishing a *Theocracy*, *i.e.* Gods Government, over Gods people. From this time it was a usual thing for the Magistrates to consult with the Ministers in hard and difficult cases, especially about matters of Religion: yet so, as notwithstanding occasional conjunction, Religious care was had of avoiding confusion of Councils. After which time how usefull Master Cotton was to *Old England*, to *New England*, to Magistrates, to Ministers, to People, in Publick, in Private, by Preaching, by Counsel, and resolving difficult questions, all know that knew him, and consequently saw the Grace of God so evidently manifested in him.

In

In the course of his Ministry in *New Boston*, by way of Exposition he went over the Old Testament to *Isaiah* the 30. The whole New Testament once through, and the second time to the middle of *Hebrews* the 7th. Upon the Lords Days, and Lecture Days, he preached through the *Acts of the Apostles*: the Prophecies of *Haggai, Zechariah, Ezra*, the *Revelations, Ecclesiastes, Canticles*: the second, and third Epistles of *John*, the Epistle to *Titus*, both the Epistles to *Timothy*, the Epistle to the *Romans*, with other Scriptures. The presence of the Lord being with him, and Crowning his Labours with the Conversion of many Souls, and the edification of thousands. Besides these aforementioned Labors, he hath many pieces in Print, which being well known, need not be here enumerated.

His Labours.

The success of the Ministry.

His youth was unstained, whence he was so much the more capable of being an excellent Instrument in the Church in his elder days. He that will do good in the Church, *must have a good report of them which are without, lest he fall into the reproach, and snare of the Devil, 1 Tim. 3. 7.* St. Augustine tels us, that *A good life is requisite in respect of our selves, but a good name is requisite in respect of others.* We may be good men if we have a good Conscience, but we are not like to do much good, if we have not a good name.

He was a general Scholar, studious to know all things, the want whereof might in one of his Profession be denominated ignorance, and piously ignorant of those things, the nescience whereof made him more Learned. Deservedly therefore is his praise great in

His learning and studiousness.

all the Churches, that he not only gave himself to the acquiring of Learning, but exceeded many that had done virtuously therein. He excelled in the greater part of the *Encyclopaedia*.

His piety.

Those which best knew his goings out, and his coming in, cannot but give a large testimony to his Piety. He was a Saint (above many of the Saints) manifestly declared in the Consciences of the Godly amongst whom he walked, to be *the Epistle of Christ, known, and read of all men.* In his house he *walked with a perfect heart.* He was an example to the Flock; clothed with love, and humility amongst his Brethren: One of a thousand in respect of his worth: But (as it is reported of Dr. *Whitaker*) as one of the multitude in respect of his facile, and companion-like behaviour. Both ability, and modesty in such a degree, are not ordinarily to be found in the same man. Others with much affection beheld the beauty of his face, whilest himself was as one who knew not that his face shined. He was a Father, Friend, and Brother to his fellow-Elders, and a shining Light before all men.

His Humility.

His Family carriage.

He well knew that a Bishop ought not to be defective in the well government of his Family: He must be *one that rules well his own house*: In conscience whereof, he himself rising betimes in the morning, as soon as he was ready, he called his Family together (which was also his practice in the evening) to the solemn worship of God, reading, and expounding, and occasionally also applying the Scriptures unto them, alwayes beginning, and ending with Prayer. In case of sin committed by child or servant, he would call

call them aside privately (the matter so requiring) laying the Scriptures before them, and causing them to read that part which bore witness against such an offence: Seldome or never correcting in anger, that the dispensation of godly Discipline might not be impured, or become less effectually, through the intermixing of humane passion.

He began the *Sabbath*, on the *Saturday* evening: and therefore then performed Family duties after Supper, being larger then ordinary in Exposition, after which he Catechized his children, and Servants, and then returned into his Study. The morning following, Family worship being ended, he retired into his Study untill the Bell called him away. Upon his return from the Congregation, he returned again into his Study (the place of his Labour, and Prayer) unto his private devotion; where (having a small repast carried him up for his dinner) he continued till the tolling of the Bell. The publick service being ended, he withdrew for a space into his aforementioned Oration, for his sacred addressees unto God, as in the forenoon: Then came down, repeated the Sermon in his Family, prayed, and after Supper sang a *Psalm*, and, towards bed time, betaking himself again to his Study, he closed the day with Prayer. Thus he spent the *Sabbath* continually.

His Sabbath
employment.

In his Study, he neither sate down unto, nor arose from his Meditations without Prayer: Whilest his eyes were upon his Book, his expectation was from God. He had learned to Study, because he had learned to Pray. An able Student is a Gospel Student, because unable to Study without Jesus Christ.

His dependence
on God.

The barrenness of his Meditation at some times, yea though his endeavour was most intense upon a good matter, convinced him whence it was, that his heart musing upon the same Subject at another time, his tongue became as the Pen of a ready writer. As he was not (comparatively) wanting in parts, Learning, or Industry, so was he most carefull not to trust in them, but to fix his dependance wholly upon God. Herein he was not unlike to blessed *Bradford* who studied kneeling. Another *Synesius*, who was wont to divide his life between Prayer, and his Book. Like unto *Paul*, *Not sufficient of himself to think any thing as of himself*, and professing all his sufficiency to be of God. *But we will give our selves* (say the Apostles) *continually unto Prayer, and to the Ministry of the Word.* Men of labour, they were, and men of Prayer.

His Fastings.

As any weighty cause presented it self either in the Church, Commonwealth, or his Family, he used to set dayes apart to seek the face of God in secret: Such were the bowels of this spirituall rather, *the Horsemen, and Chariots of this Israel.* He might say with *Paul*, *He was in fastings often.* His conversation upon earth was a trading in Heaven. A demonstration of the praises of him who hath called him. A temperature of that holiness, sweetness, and love, which continually gained upon the hearts of many spectators. The habituall gracious scope of his heart in his whole Ministry, is not illegible in that usuall subscription of his at the end of all his Sermons, *Tibi Domine.* Unto thy honour, O Lord. A tast of the divine *Soliloquies* between God and his soul, you may please to take notice of from these two transcribed Poems left

left behind him in his Study, written with his own hand.

A thankfull acknowledgement of Gods providence.

*In Mothers womb thy fingers did me make,
And from the womb thou did'st me safely take:
From breast thou hast me nurst my life throughout,
That I may say I never wanted ought.*

*In all my meales my Table thou hast spread,
In all my lodgings thou hast made my bed:
Thou hast me clad with changes of array,
And chang'd my house for better far away.*

*In youthfull wandrings thou didst stay my slide,
In all my journeys thou hast been my guide:
Thou hast me sav'd from many an unknown danger,
And shew'd me favour even where I was a stranger.*

*In both my Callings thou hast heard my voice,
In both my matches thou hast made my choise:
Thou gav'st me sons, and daughters them to peer.
And giv'st me hope thou'l't learn them thee to fear.*

*Oft have I seen thee look with mercies face,
And through thy Christ have felt thy saving grace:
This is the Heav'n on earth, if any be:
For this, and all, my soul doth worship thee.*

Another made by him (as it seems) upon his remove from *Boston* into that wilderness of *N^e England*.

I now may expect some changes of miseries,
 Since God hath made me sure,
 That himself by them all will purge mine iniquities
 As fire makes silver pure.

Then what though I find the deep deceitfulness
 Of a distrustfull heart?
 Yet I know with the Lord is abundant faithfulness,
 He will not lose his part.

When I think of the sweet, and gracious company
 That at Boston once I had,
 And of the long peace of a fruitfull Ministry
 For twenty years enjoy'd.

The joy that I found in all that happiness
 Doth still so much refresh me,
 That the grief to be cast out into a wilderness
 Doth not so much distress me.

For when God saw his people, his own at our Town,
 That together they could not hit it,
 But that they had learned the language of Askelon,
 And one with another could chip it.

He then saw it time to send in a busie Elf,
 A Foyner to take them asunder:
 That so they might learn each one to deny himself
 And so to piece together.

When the breach of their Bridges, and all their Banks
 And of him that School teaches, (arow,
 When the breach of the Plague, and of their Trade also
 Could not learn them to see their breaches.

Then

*Then God saw it time to break out on their Ministers,
By loss of health, and peace;
Yea withall, to break in upon their Magistrates,
That so their pride might cease.*

His Moderation.

A Disputation is well called the Sieve of truth: So in his Polemical labors he was a seeker thereof in love: His scope was, the Glory of God, Unity of the Church, and the edification of men, not the ostentation of wit. It was his holy ambition, not to seem to be learned, but indeed to be bettered. A sincere seeker of light, not of victory. Witness his Brotherly acceptance of Dr. Twiss his Examination of Mr. Cottons Treatise of *Predestination*, from whom he acknowledged that he received light thereby, and was ready to attest the great abilities of the Doctor, that Star (if any in this age) of the first magnitude. It is true, Mr. Cottons mind was then exercised about the point of Reprobation. Touching the point of Election, it is sufficiently known that he was not only Orthodox, but also cleer. As there were of old that pretended the *Predestinarian* Heresie to have had it's rise from St. Austin, and *Grevinchovius* of late blushed not to say of famous Dr. Ames, who was, *Arminianorum malleus*, Amesius *Pelagianizat*. Dr. Ames playes the *Pelagian*: So, the wonder is less, if this sound, and judicious Divine hath not escaped the imputation of *Arminianism* from some, notwithstanding the redundant Testimony of his Doctrine, and generally of all that knew him, to the contrary; yea, that occasionally he hath been heard to say, by Testimony yet alive, and above exception, that he looked at *Arminianism* as another Gospel, and

directly contrary to the Covenant of Grace. What *Melancthon* sometimes said to *Eccius*, may be here truly applied to him: Mr. *Cotton* in his Disputations sought not his own Glory, but Gods Truth. So able an Opponent was rare, so candid an Opponent was more rare. He that fell into his hands, was likely to fall soft enough ordinarily (except through his own default) not likely to lose any thing save his error.

His Wisdom.

A mans wisdom makes his face to shine: He had an happy, a quick comprehensive, and benign understanding, as having received the manifestation of the Spirit, for the service and profit of others. To discover the mind of God, and therewith the sentence of Judgment, in matters too hard for inferiour Judges, was no small part, both of the worth, and usefulness of him that was to minister before the Lord. So it seemed good to the Father of Lights to make this happy Instrument, not only to excel his Brethren, but in many respects, upon this account to excel himself: A Grace so far acknowledged in him, as that all sorts, both the Magistrates, and private Persons, whether learned, or unlearned, exercised with their respective Cases of conscience, waited under God, in a special manner upon his lips for knowledge, and sought the Law at his mouth. So equal a contention between learning and meekness, is seldom visible in any one person. The consciences of those that knew him being appealed to, he will be acknowledged amongst the meekest on Earth in his dayes.

His Meekness. So conspicuous was this Grace in him, that multitudes beheld it, not without making extraordinary mention

mention thereof. It is true, he had an advantage above many in his natural constitution, and it's influence from his education, heightened intellectuals, and moralities, was not inconsiderable; but that which gave the being of meekness, which sanctified, and perfected all, was the Grace of Christ. He was of an acute apprehension, and therefore sensible of, but yet so little in his own sight, that he was not easily provoked by an injury. Sensibleness of dishonor done to God by sin, or of what the offender had done unto himself by sinning, left such impressions upon him, as that his taking notice of any injury done unto himself, was not usually taken notice of. He had well learned that lesson of Gregory: *It is better many times to fly from an injury by silence, than to overcome it by replying.* It was Gryneus his manner, to revenge wrongs by Christian taciturnity. If inferiors expostulated unnecessarily with him, he would patiently hear them, and give them a brotherly account, pacifying their minds with a gentle, grave, and respectful answer. Take one instance in this kind instead of many; unto one of his hearers, then sick of singularities, and therefore the less able to bear sound Doctrine, following him home after his publick labours in the Congregation, and instead of better encouragement, telling him that his Ministry was become either dark, or flat: He gently answered? Both, Brother, without further opening his mouth in his own defence; choosing rather to own the imputation, than to expostulate with the Imputer.

Disputations are great trials of the spirits of intelligent men. Hooper and Ridley were patient Martyrs,

His Modesty

but

but somewhat impatient Disputers. The *Synod* held at *Cambridge* in *New England*, as matters were then circumstanced; was unto this good man an hour of temptation, above what had ordinarily befallen him in his Pilgrimage: yet such was his eminent behaviour throughout, as argued in the consciences of the Spectators singular patience, and left him a Mirrour for the temperament, mildness, and government of his Spirit. Pious meekness fits for Church Society. Yet though he was so gentle, meek, and flexible, that men might persuade him above what could be expected usually from a man of his worth, in the things of God he was steadfast, and unmovable. The Sanctuary cannot want the fire that is from Heaven, neither may it be touched with the fire that is from Hell. Gentleness of disposition, when actuated by Christ, makes us so much the more acceptable, and profitable unto man: But if the Spirit withdraweth his assistance, we fall short of reaching Gods ends, and the seasonable suppressing of exorbitancies. If this good man had alwayes had that voice sounding in his heart, which one wished that mild *Lanigrave* of *Hessen* might have heard from the Smiths forge: *Duresce, duresce; Usinam & Lanigravius durescat*: Happily there are that think some disorders, disturbances, and irregularities might, by Gods blessing, have been prevented.

But ordinarily, and in matters of greatest weight the Lord was with him. Though his forbearance was both observable, and very imitable in things that concerned himself; yet he could not forbear them whom he knew to be evil. An experience whereof he manifested

^{where} fested some Heterodox spirits, ^{and} by their specious discourses about *Free-Grace* and subtle concealings of their Principles, so far deceived him into a better opinion of them than there was cause, as that notwithstanding they fattered their Errors upon him in general, and abused his Doctrine to the countenancing of their denial of Inherent Grace in particular, yet was he slow to beleieve these things of them, and slower to bear witness against them. But so soon as the truth herein appeared to him, hear his own words taken out of his Letter to Mr. Davenport, *The truth is (saith he) the body of the Island is bent to backsliding into Error, and Delusions: the Lord pitty, and pardon them, and me also, who have been so slow to see their windings and subtil contrivances, and insinuations in all their transactions, whilst they propagated their opinions under my expressions diverted to their constructions.* Yea, such was his ingenuity and piety, as that his soul was not satisfied without often breaking forth into affectionate bewailing of his infirmity herein in the publick Assemblies, sometimes in his Prayer, sometimes in his Sermon, and that with tears.

He was a man of an ingenuous and pious candour, rejoycing (as opportunity was offered) to take notice of, and to bear witness to the gifts of God in his Brethren, thereby drawing the hearts of them to him, and of others to them, and that to the encouragement of them, and the edification of many. He did not think himself a loser by putting honour upon his Fellow-labourers, but was willing that they should communicate with him in the love and esteem of the people. He was not only a son of Peace, enjoying

His Candor.

His Peace-
making

continually the feast of a good conscience, with serenity and tranquillity of affections at home, but also a peace-maker, qualified by the graces aforementioned to be a choice instrument in the hand of the Prince of Peace amongst the Churches, where if any difference arose, Mr. Cotton was ready (being called thereunto) to afford his help for the composing of them; and had a singular faculty and ability therein, by reason of that excellent wisdom, and moderation of spirit which God in Christ had given him, whose blessing also did ordinarily crown his endeavours with good success.

His Hospita-
lity.

He was one, the reality of whose profession gave many cause to bless God for the kindness of the Lord shewed unto all sorts by him. His portion in the things of this life, exempted him from being an object of envy in that behalf; yet behold, *Quantum ex quantilo*, so much communicated out of to little, we may not here be altogether silent concerning the Grace of God bestowed upon him, whereby according to his power, yea above his power, he was beneficent unto others, but especially to those of the Household of Faith. The Gospel opened his heart, his lips, and the doors of his house. He well remembered that Scripture, *There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth, and there is that withholdeth more than is meet, but is sendeth to poverty.* As also, *That liberal soul shall be made fat.* Amongst others, his Fellow-labourers in the Ministry were entertained with peculiar contentment. By one instance see his spirit in the rest. A certain Minister who had gotten into the fellowship of that eminent man Mr. Arthur Hildersham, and many other godly

godly Preachers, being acquainted with their secrets, betrayed them into the Prelates hands. This man coming afterwards to *Boston*, and meeting with Mr. Cotton, this *Gatus* had not the heart to speak to him, nor to invite him to his house, which (he said) he never neglected to his knowledge, to any stranger before, much less to any of his own order.

Some years since there was brought unto *Boston* a report of the necessity of the poor Saints at *Sigara*, a little Church whereof the Reverend Mr. *White* was their faithful Pastor, which suffered much extremity by reason of the persecution of their then prevailing adversaries, forcing them from *Bermudas* into the Desert Continent. The sound of whose distress was no sooner heard of, but you might have heard the sounding of his bowels, with many others, applying themselves to a speedy Collection, and sending it to them on purpose for their reasonable relief; the sum was about seven hundred pounds, two hundred whereof he gathered in the Church of *Boston*, no man in the Contribution exceeding, and but one equalling his bounty. And it was remarkable that this Contribution arrived there the very day after those poor people were brought to a personal division of that little Meal then remaining in the Barrel, and not seeing (according to man) but that after the eating thereof they must dye a lingering death for want of food; and upon the same day their Pastor had preached unto them (it being the Lords day upon that Text, *Psal. 23. The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want.* At such a time the good hand of the Lord brought this succour to them from afar.

A Special Providence.

White

His sufferings
from men.

Whilst he was in *Old England*, his eminent piety, the success of his labours, and his interest in the hearts both of superiours, inferiours, equals, drew upon him much envy, and his Non-conformity added thereunto, so that he was delivered in a great measure to the will of his Adversaries, who gave him not over till they had bereaved him of much of his livelihood, his liberty, Country, and therewithall of the sweet society of lovers, friends, and many wayes endeared acquaintance, more precious to him than life it self.

Yet the measure of the afflictions of Christ, appointed to be suffered by him, was not so fulfilled; but lo, in the time of his exile, some Brethren, provoked by the censure of Authority, though justly, & not without tears inflicted upon them, singled out Mr. *Cotton* as the object of their displeasure, who (though above other men) declining irregular and unnecessary interesting himself in the actions of the Magistrate, and (while opportunity lasted) endeavouring their healing, yet they requited him evil for good, and they (at least some of them) who were formerly companions with him in the tribulations of that *Patmos*, yea respecters of him, had *taken sweet counsel together, and they had walked in the house of God as friends*. Hence was he with Tongue and pen blasphemed by them, for whom he formerly intreated, and for whom, he both then, and afterwards wept, and put on sackcloth.

As touching any Tenet wherein he may seem singular, remember that he was a man, and therefore to be heard and read with judgement, and happily sometimes with favour. *St. Hierom* makes a difference between reading the writings of the Apostles, and other men.

They

They (saith he) *alwayes speak the truth, these as men sometimes erre.* But no man did more placidly bear a Dissentient than he. It contributes much towards the fuller discovery of truth, when men of larger capacities, and greater industry than others may be permitted to communicate their Notions; onely they should use this liberty by way of disquisition, not of Position, rather as searchers after Scripture-light, than as *Dictators* of private opinions.

But now this *Western Sun* hastens to his setting: Being called to preach at a neighbour Church, he took wet in his passage over the Ferry, and, not many hours after, he felt the effect of it, being seized upon with an extream illness in his Sermon time. This sad providence when others bewailed, he comforted himself in that he was found so doing. *Decet Imperatorem stantem mori.* It is the honour of a Commander to dye standing. *St. Austins* usual wish was, that when Christ came, he might finde him, *Aut praeantem, aut prae-dicantem*; either praying, or preaching. *Calvin* would not that when the Lord came, he should finde him idle. After a short time he complained of the inflammation of his lungs, and thereupon found himself *His Sickness.* *Asthmatical*, and afterward *Scorbntical* (which both meeting in a complicated disease, put an end to his dayes) insomuch that he was forced to give over those comforting drinks which his stomach could not want. If he still used them, the inflammation grew unsufferable, and threatned a more sharp, and speedy death. If he left them, his stomach forthwith ceased to perform its office, leaving him without hope of life.

By these Messengers he received the sentence of death, yet in the use of means he attended the pleasure of him in whose hands our times are; his labours continued whilst his strength failed: *November the 18.* he took in course for his Text the four last verses of the second Epistle to *Timothy*, *Salute Prisca and Aquila, &c.* Giving the reason why he spake of so many verses together, because otherwise he said, he should not live to make an end of that Epistle. He chiefly insisted upon those words, *Grace be with you all*, so ending that Epistle, and his Lectures together. For upon the Lords day following he preached his last Sermon upon *Joh. 1. 14.* *And the Word was made Flesh, and dwelt among us. (and we beheld his Glory as of the onely begotten Son of the Father) full of Grace and Peace.*

Now he gave himself wholly to prepare for his dissolution, making his Will, and setting his house in order: When he could no more be seen abroad, all sorts, Magistrates, Ministers, Neighbours, and Friends afar off, and those near at hand, especially his own people resorted to him daily, as to a publick Father. When the neighbour Ministers visited him (in which duty they were frequent) he thanked them affectionately for their love, exhorting them also as an *Elder*, and a witness of the sufferings of *Christ*, to feed the Flock, encouraging them, that when the chief Shepherd shall appear, they should receive a Crown of Glory that fadeth not away.

Finding himself to grow weak, according to that of *James*, he sent for the Elders of the Church of *Boston* to pray over him, which last solemn duty being performed,

formed, not without much affection, and many tears: Then (as *Polycarp* a little before his death said, *That he had served Christ fourscore and six years, neither had he ever offended him in any thing*) so he told them (through Grace, he had now served God forty years, it being so long since his conversion) throughout which time he had ever found him faithful to him; and thereupon he took occasion to exhort them to the like effect, that *Paul* sometime did the Elders of *Ephesus*, a little before they were to see his face no more, *Take heed therefore to your selves, and to all the Flock over which the Lord hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Particularly he lamented that the love of many, yea, and some of their own Congregation was grown cold towards the publick Ordinances, calling upon them to much the more for their watchfulness in that respect; which done, he thanked them for their loving and brotherly assistance to him in their holy fellowship, and commended them to the blessing of God.

His pious Consort, and those Olive Plants that sate lately about his Table, now gathered together about the Bed of a dying Husband, and departing Father. This was his last solemn transaction with man in this world: Silver and Gold (though he wanted not) he had not much to give them, but the blessing of a righteous Parent he left with them.

That Reverend and Godly man, Mr. *Wilson* (who excelleth in Love, as Mr. *Cotton* did in Light) the faithful Pastor of that Church, taking his last leave of him, and most ardently praying unto God that he would lift up the light of his countenance upon him,

and shed his love into his soul, he presently answered, *He hath done it already, Brother.*

His work now finished with all men, perceiving his departure to be at hand, and having nothing else to do, but onely that great work of dying in the Lord, he wholly composed, and set himself for his dissolution, desiring that he might be permitted to improve that little remnant of his life without impediment to his private Devotions, and divine *Soliloquies* between God and his soul; and for that end he caused the Curtains to be drawn, and a Gentleman, and Brother of that Congregation that was much with him, and ministered to him in his sickness, he caused to promise him that the Chamber should be kept private. But a while after, hearing the whispering of some brethren in the Room, he called to that Gentleman, saying, *Why do you break your word with me?*

His Death.

Not long after (being mindful no doubt of that great helpfulness which he received from that aforementioned Brother throughout his visitation) he left him with this farewell, *The God that made you, and bought you with a great price, redeem your body and soul unto himself.* These words were his last words, after which he was not heard to speak, but lying some hours speechless, he quietly breathed out his spirit into the hands of him that gave it, *December 23. Anno Christi, 1652.* being entred into the Sixty eighth year of his Age.

The

The Life and Death of Dr. Hill who dyed *Anno Christi*, 1653.

MR. *Thomas Hill* was born at *Kingston* in *Worcestershire*, of Godly Parents; and *David* accounted it his great honour and blessing to be the *Son of Gods Handmaid*, *Psal. 86. 16.*

His Parentage.

His Parents dedicated him unto God from his Child-hood, designing him to the work of the Ministry, and in order thereunto they trained him up in School-learning in the Country; and being there well fitted, they sent him to *Emanuel Colledge* in *Cambridge*, where the Rose was not cankered in the bud, his youth not corrupted, nor debauched, as too many are: But this morning (like that *2 Sam. 23. 4.*) was without clouds, not sullied with any noted miscarriage, but on the contrary, as it is said of *Sampson* when young, that the *Spirit of the Lord began then to move him*, *Judg. 13. 25.* So in his then sober, and studious behaviour, the Sun looked out betimes in that Summer morning, and through Gods Grace (otherwise than it oft falls out in nature) he gave promising hopes of an after clearer day.

His Education

This being taken notice of by the Governours of the Colledge, they thereupon, after examination had, chose him Scholar of the House, he (as his Saviour) still *growing in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man.* And then after some good time spent in his private studies in the Colledge, for his further perfecting, and the more happy seasoning of his spirit,

His Proficiency.

he went and sojourned with that man of God (now also with the Lord) Mr. Cotton at Boston in *Lincolnshire*, where, by Gods rich blessing upon his most godly directions, and example, and the society he had with him, and other eminent Christians in that place, he was much improved and furthered, as otherwise, so especially in Heavens-way, which happily went along with him to his journies end.

He is chosen
Fellow of S.
M. A. N. U. L.

Upon his return from thence to the Colledge, it was not long before he was chosen Fellow with general approbation, though upon a most strict, and double examination, more (I think) than ever was in that Colledge before, or hath been since, though it still is, and ever hath been, according to the Statutes, very strict, and serious, and which hath been blessed to be a special means of holding up true worth, and learning in that happy Society.

A careful Tu
tor.

And now, through Gods good hand of providence, leading and strengthening him, he proved a diligent, painful, and successful Tutor of very many Pupils, and divers of them persons of quality, who since have proved great blessings both to the Church and Commonwealth: And thus as he was before a pattern to young Schollars, so after he was a Tutor, no diligence was wanting whereby he might be instrumental to Gods Glory, and the good of those who were committed to his charge.

His labours in
the Ministry.

But this our wise Master-builder, satisfied not himself as a Tutor in polishing of builders, but as a faithful and painful Minister, he laboriously endeavoured to square other lively stones for Gods Temple, 1 *Per.* 2.5. and so as he read to Schollars in the Colledge, he also

al
b so diligently and conscionably preached to a neighbour Congregation [*St. Andrews*] in the Town, so that many poor souls long after had cause to bless God for him.

Nor was he an Hireling to slye when the Wolf came, but when the Plague in this time of his Ministry raged in the Town, he still continued with them in his Ministerial employment, the better Shepherd he, who not onely fed the sound, but also healed and bound up the torn, and weak of the flock.

This Alabaster Box of precious oyntment thus powred out, filled the whole house with its odour, and the sweet fragraney of it did spread abroad, so that now he came to be more taken notice of by many both great, and good men, and so by some of eminent worth, and honour, he was called to the Pastoral charge of *Tichmersh* in *Northamptonshire*, where he laboured faithfully in Gods Harveit for the space of about eight or nine years, and partly by preaching and conversing up and down with others; but especially with his own Parochial charge, he proved a great blessing; not onely to that Town, but also to the whole Country, in every place where he came, spreading a good savour, and leaving it behinde him.

His remove
to *Tichmersh*.

During the time of his being at *Tichmersh*, he sometimes repaired to *Warwick* Castle, to that Noble *Robert Lord Brook*, who highly esteemed him, and in whose Family he grew acquainted with *Mrs. Mary Wilford*; at that time Governess to the Lady *Frances Rich* (a young Lady of rare parts) Daughter to the Right Honourable *Robert Earle of Warwick*, and mutual affections growing betwixt them, he was married to

His Marriage.

to her, who since his death, was re-married to the Reverend, learned, and pious Dr. *Tuckney*, Master of *St. Johns* Colledge, and *Regius Professor* in *Cambridge*, my much honoured friend, so that she hath been made happy in the enjoyment of two such Husbands, as few women in our times have attained to.

Whilst he was labouring (as aforesaid) in the work of the Lord, for more publick service he was chosen by the Parliament for one of that County to attend, and assist in the *Assembly of Divines*, called together by their Authority at *Westminster*; where being of very good use, he was often ordered by the Parliament to preach before them at their publick Fasts, and upon other their more solemn occasions. He was also chosen by them to be one of their Morning week-dayes Preachers in the Abbey at *Westminster*, besides his constant Sabbath-dayes labours in another great Congregation [*St. Martins* in the Fields] where he was a blessing to many thousands.

From thence he was ordered to be Master of *Emanuel* Colledge in the University of *Cambridge*, which being not a sphere large enough for his activity, he was after a while removed to the Mastership of *Trinity* Colledge, where what great good he did, many that lived under him can give an ample Testimony; and that happy change proclaimed, from that confusion (by reason of those distracted times) in which he found it, to that orderly compofure, and frame, in which, through Gods blessing, he left it. How sollicitous he was for their best welfare, his frequent preaching in their Chappel to them all, and his writing to their Seniors,

He is chosen
to the Assembly.

Chosen to be
Master of *Emanuel*.
His remove to
Trinity.

His Industry.

Seniors, speaks out fully; and many can bear witness how humble, and loving he was to them in his carriage, how studious to keep up College-Exercises, how zealous to advance Piety and Learning; and for that purpose, to countenance, and prefer such as he observed to be eminent in either.

As he was a University-man, he was zealously carefull.

His care of
the University.

1. Of its Honour (which the Parliament can witness) in an unkindly contest about it; and also his care in collecting the decayed Antiquities of that University, whose pains in that Argument, it is pity but that they were communicated to the world.

2. Of its Priviledges, as alwayes, so especially in those two years together in which he was Vice-Chancellor, for which he suffered in some mens reputes unjustly.

3. Of its Profit and Emolument, being a special means of procuring to it from the Parliament, the *Lambeth* Library, which of right (as it was judged) fell to that University; as also from a worthy Knight [Sir *John Wollaston*, Alderman of the City of *London*] a yearly stipend for a *Mathematick Lecturer*, and also large summes of money for the fitting of the Publick Library, that it might be of general use; for the accomplishment whereof, the University is more wayes than one his Debtor.

4. Lastly, Of the general good, and well-ordering of it. Surely it was his careful thought in private with himself, as appeared by his making it the subject of his discourse with others; scarce was there a time wherein he met with his intimate, and judicious friends,

N

but

*De jure belli &
pacis lib. 3 cap
11. Sec. 10.*

His sound
judgement.

but he would be asking or proposing something that way. By this it appeared that his care was to keep up those Universities, which some in those times would have ruined; upon which occasion *Grotius* pronounceth many Christians to be worse than the *Philistines*; for they, *1 Sam. 10. 5.* would let the company of Prophets alone, even where they kept a Garrison.

As he was a Divine, he was sound in the Faith, orthodox in his judgement, firmly adhering to the good old Doctrine of the Church of *England*, even that which in that University was taught, and maintained by famous *Whitaker, Perkins, Darnant, Ward*, and many others in their times; and in the other University amongst other great Names there, he was a great admirer of the Right Reverend and Judicious *Dr. Robert Abbot*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, and well were it if there he had many more such Admirers. The Doctrines of Gods Sovereignty in his Decrees: Of his In-conditionate Free-electing-love: Of his Free-grace against Free-will, and the power of Nature in Spirituals: Of justification by the imputed Righteousness of Christ, against the perfection of inherent Righteousness now attainable by us in this life. Of perseverance in Grace, against the Apostacy of the Saints, and the like, were not with this pious, and learned man (as they are now called by some) Sects and Notions, matters onely of learning and curiosity, and of the *Presbyterian* Faction: But of the life-blood of Faith, which at his death (as he expressed to a Friend of his) he had singular comfort from, and in his life firmly beleaved, constantly preached, and by his Pen endeavoured to maintain and defend, and that against the

the great daring Champion, of the contrary errors, whom the abusive wits in the University, with ~~an~~ impudent boldness could say, none there durst adventure upon, whose inmodest scurrility, his learned answer to that daring adversary which he had made so fair a progress in) had shortly confuted, had not he by his more sudden death been therein prevented.

As a Minister of the Gospel: In his preaching he was plain, powerful, spiritual, frequent, and laborious: For besides what in that kinde he did, as to the University in *St. Maries*, and in the Colledge Chappel, which was very happy in his often pains there; In the Town he set up one Lecture every Sabbath morning in the Parish Church of *St. Michael*, performed only by himself, and cheerfully frequented by a great confluence both of Schollars and Townsmen; and another in the Church of *All-Hallows* every Lords day in the afternoon, in which he did bear at least the fourth part of the burden, and both of them *Gratis*, as there were many more such Lectures there performed, much about the same rate, weekly by other pious learned men, and more indeed than are in any Town or City, upon those tearms in all *England*, or are like to be there again; which is mentioned that God may have the glory in the first place, and then for the honour of that Reformation, which so many do traduce, and spit at; as also of those more noble spirited Preachers, who so freely offered unto God that which did cost them so much, for which of men they received nothing.

But that place of *Cambridge* did not bound the course of this our laborious Preachers Ministry, but (as it is said of our Saviour, *Matth. 9. 35.*) *That he went*

[His painful-
ness in the Mi-
nisty.

about all Cities, and Villages teaching and preaching; and of St. Paul Rom. 15. 17. *That from Jerusalem, and round about, and that to Illyricum* (which was in right line three hundred and thirty German miles, as *Pareus* upon the place computes it) *he did fully preach the Gospel*; imitating herein, as *Ferom* observes, his Lord and Master, that Sun of Righteousness, whose going forth is from the ends of the Heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it, *Pla.* 19. 6. In these their blessed steps our Brother trod, and followed them in his painful Ministry, diligently preaching when he had occasion to be abroad in remoter parts; but especially in many Towns and Villages nearer hand, round about the University, being a means to set up Lectures in many of them, and very often assisting in them; and as our Savior is observed by some Divines to have preached more frequently the nearer he was to his departure; so this his faithful servant, as it were presaging that his day would be but short, towards his evening he made the more haste and speed in his journey towards his end, and yet more *abounded in this work of the Lord*, and now findes *That his labour is not in vain in the Lord*, 1 Cor. 15. 58. Thus of him as a Minister.

His activity
for God.

And lastly, as he was a Christian, he was active for God, as his Saviour, *Act.* 10. 38. *Going up and down, and doing good*; and though otherwise modest, yet when the case required it, bold in a good cause. He was spiritual in communion; and a quickner of those with whom he conversed. Fruitful in discourse, by which the frame of his spirit might easily be discovered: Frequent in asking questions, which was both his humility, and Christian good husbandry, there-
by

by to improve himselfe, his time and company.

Affable he was to others, of much humility, and low thoughts of himself, and of great integrity and singleness of heart towards God, his Truth, Ordinances, wayes, and servants; of a very publick spirit, and much affected with the various conditions of the State, but especially of the Church and people of God.

His Character

He was a most loving Husband to his wife, and a dutiful son to his Parents, and in his life time very helpful to his other Relations. Many poor, both of the University and Town do now feel the want of his bounty which they tasted of in his life time; and both they, and others had done more at his death (as appeared by his intentions of it in the draught of his *Will*) had not the suddenness of his change prevented it.

His Charity.

In a long continued Quartan, God had knocked at his door, which in the *interim* of his recovery awakened him to get all within ready against the coming of his Lord, which, though to his friends was unexpected, yet found not him unprepared. In his short sickness, he expressed to an intimate Friend his great comfort, and joy in Gods discriminating electing-love; and to a Reverend Doctor, about half an hour before his departure, who enquired of him about the settling of his outward estate, and inward peace, he readily, and without the least hesitancy, answered, that through the mercy of God in Christ his peace was made, and that he quietly rested in it; whereby it seems (as was said by one) he had his Faith at his fingers ends, and having before *given all diligence to make his calling and*

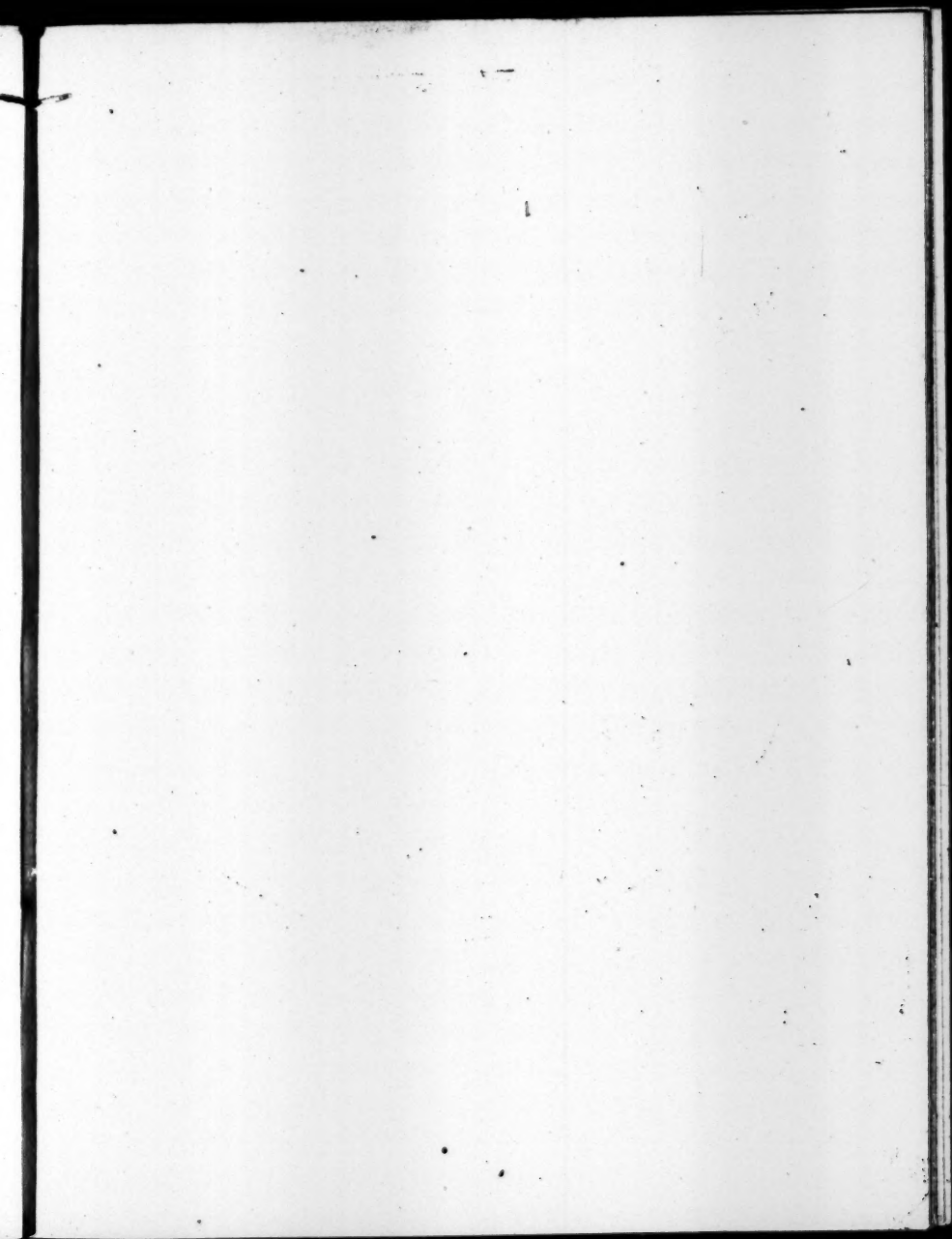
His last sickness.

His Death.

election sure, though he was somewhat suddenly called out of this life, yet had he *an abundant entrance set open to him, into the everlasting Kingdome of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*, departing quietly in the Lord, Decem. 18. 1653. As to himself he had lived a fruitful and gracious life, and therefore (as *Clemens Romanus* speaks of some of the first, and best Bishops) he closed up all with a happy and blessed death; and as to others, he lived approved, and dyed desired, and very much lamented.

He was a great Friend to the publication of the lives of godly and eminent Ministers, and Christians, and assisting to me in procuring information concerning the Lives of some of those Worthies whom I have formerly printed.

The





D^r. WILLIAM GOUGE.

The Life and Death of Dr. Gouge, who dyed *Anno Christi*, 1653.

William Gouge was born in *Stratford-Bow*, in the County of *Middlesex*, *Novem. 1. Anno* 1575. His Father Mr. *Thomas Gouge* was a godly Gentleman. His Mother was the vertuous and pious Daughter of Mr. *Nicholas Culverel*, a Merchant in *London*, and she was sifter to those two famous Preachers, Mr. *Samuel*, and Mr. *Ezekiel Culverel*; she had also two sisters who were married to those two famous and learned Divines, Dr. *Chaderton*, the Master of *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, and Dr. *Whitaker* the *Regius Professor* of Divinity in the same University; so that by the Mothers side he came of a stock of eminent Preachers.

His Birth and
Parentage.

Our *William Gouge* in his younger years was first trained up in *Pauls School London*, and was afterwards sent to a Free-school at *Felsted in Essex*, where he was trained up three years under the publick Ministry of his Uncle Mr. *Ezekiel Culverel*, by whose labours he was much wrought upon, and if not first begotten, yet much built up in his holy Faith, as himself often expressed. From thence he was sent to *Eaton*, where he was educated other six years, during all which time he was more than ordinarily studious and industrious; for when other boyes upon play-days took liberty for their sports and pastimes, he would be at his book, wherein he took more delight than others could finde in their Recreations, whereby

His Education

His early Piety

whereby he profited beyond many his equals.

At this time whilst he was a Schollar at *Eaton*, he was possessed with an holy fear of God, was conscionable in secret prayer, and in sanctifying the *Sabbaths*, and was much grieved at the ordinary prophanation thereof by sports and pastimes which were then, and there too much allowed, as he did oft-times in his life, with much thankfulness unto God express.

His removal to Cambridge.

From the School at *Eaton* he was chosen to Kings College in *Cambridge*, whither he went *Anno Christi* 1595. and at the first entrance of his studies he applied himself to *P. Ramus* his *Logick*, and grew so expert therein, that in the publick Schools he maintained and defended him, insomuch as when on a time divers *Sophisters* set themselves to vilifie *Ramus*, for which end the Respondent had given this question, *Nunquam eris magnus, cui Ramus est magnus*, which some of the *Sophisters* hearing, and knowing the said *William Gouge* to be an accute disputant, and a stiff defender of *Ramus*, they went to the *Divinity* Schools, where he was then hearing an *Act*, and told him how in the other Schools they were abusing *Ramus*, he thereupon went into the *Sophisters* Schooles, and upon the Moderators calling for another Opponent, he stepped up, and brought such an argument as stumbled the Respondent, whereupon the Moderator took upon him to answer it, but could not satisfie the doubt: This occasioned a *Sophister* that stood by to say with a loud voice, *Do you come to vilifie Ramus, and cannot answer the Argument of a Ramist?* Whereupon the Moderator rose up, and gave him a box on the ear, then the School was all on an uproar; but the

He defended Ramus.

the said *William Gouge* was safely conveyed out from amongst them.

When he was *Senior Sophister*, he was chosen Moderator of the *Sophisters* Acts in the publick Schools, which was a place of great credit, and he began every Act with a solemn speech in *Latine* which was not usual in those dayes, and it added much grace to the Act.

His Advancement.

The said *William Gouge* took his degrees in order, performing for every one of them, all those Exercises in the publick Schools, which by the Statutes of the University were required. And during his first three years, he kept the Colledge so close, that he lay not one night out of the walls thereof; and at the three years end he was admitted Fellow, and then went to visit his Friends.

He is Fellow.

He was a very hard Student; for as he was a lover of Learning, so was he very laborious in his studies, sitting up late at night, and rising early in the morning.

His Audaciousness.

He continued in the Colledge for the space of nine years, and in all that time (except he went forth a Town to his friends) he was never absent from morning Prayers in the Chappel, which used to be about half an hour after five a clock in the morning; yea, he used to rise so long before he went to the Chappel, as that he gained time for his secret devotions, and for reading his morning task of the Scriptures: For he tyed himself to read every day fifteen Chapters in *English* out of the Bible, five in the morning, five after dinner before he fell upon his other studies; and five before he went to bed; he hath been often heard

He read 15 Chapters every day.

to say, that when he could not sleep in the night time he used in his thoughts to run through divers Chapters of the Scripture in order, as if he had heard them read to him; and by this means he deceived the tediousness of his waking, and deprived himself also sometimes of the sweetness of his sleeping hours, though by that, which administred to him better rest, and greater sweetness; for he preferred the meditation upon the word before his necessary food with *Job*, and before sleep with *David*.

His meditation of the word.

The like practice he used in the day time when he was alone, whether within doors, or abroad, for which end, as an help, he wrote in a little book which he always carried about him, the distinct heads of every particular passage in every Chapter of the Bible, that so, when in any place he meditated on the word of God, and was at a loss, he presently found help by that little book. By this means he made himself so expert in the Text, that if he heard any phrase of Scripture, he could presently tell where it was to be found.

Besides, he had his set times of study for the more difficult places of Scripture, that he might finde out the true meaning of them, by which he attained to a great measure of exactness in the understanding of the Scripture.

He instructed others.

During his abode in the University he did not only ply his own studies, but used also to send for others whom he observed to be ingenuous and willing, and instructed them in the Arts, whereby he was a great help to many, and brought them also to be better proficient.

While

While he was a Scholler in Kings College, there came a *Jew* to *Cambridge*, who was entertained in sundry Colleges to teach them the *Hebrew* Tongue, and amongst the rest, in Kings Colledge, and Mr. *Gouge* took the opportunity of learning of him, as many other of the Students also did; but most of them grew soon weary, and lost him, onely the said Mr. *Gouge* kept close to him so long as he tarried. But when he was gone, those which before had lost their opportunity, now seeing their own folly, they came to Mr. *Gouge*, and entreated him to instruct them in the grounds of the said Language, which he accordingly did, and thereby himself became an excellent *Hebrician*.

He learned
Hebrew.

And as he was expert in the learned Languages, so was he likewise in the Arts, and all other necessary Literature, that he might have nothing of these to learn when he should come to make use of them.

A general
Schollar.

Being chosen a Lecturer both of *Logick* and *Philosophy* in the College, he made conscience of observing all the times appointed by the Statute for reading, and never omitted any of them, and his readings were so exactly composed, that thereby he profited his Auditors exceedingly, and procured much credit, and applause from them; but withall, some envy from his successors, who by his example were now provoked to a more painful, & frequent reading of their Lectures which in former times were performed seldomer, and in a more perfunctory manner. He was so cautious, and strict in the whole course of his life, that thereby he got the name of an *Arch-Puritan*, which was the terme

His Diligence

then given in scorn to those who were conscientious in their ways.

In the first year of his Fellowship he began his *Common-place* book for *Divinity*, in which he made references of all which he read. He had also white paper bound betwixt every leaf of his Bible, wherein he wrote such short and pithy interpretations, and observations on the Text as could not well be referred to any head in his *Common-place* book.

He took such pleasure in, and was so addicted to a University life, that he was resolved to have spent many more years than he did, if not his whole life therein.

But his Father, after he had been two or three years Master of Arts, much against his minde, took him from the University upon the occasion of a marriage which he prepared for him; and God by his providence turned this to the great good of his Church: For by this means, though it were somewhat late before he entred upon the Ministry, yet it is very probable that he entred upon, and exercised that sacred calling much sooner than he would have done, if he had been left to his own choice.

His Marriage.

His wife was the daughter of Mr. *Henry Caulton* a Citizen, and Mercer of *London*, but an Orphan when he married her.

Having thus changed his condition, and entred into a married estate, that he might not be distracted, nor impeded in his studies by worldly business, he committed the whole care of his Family affairs to the management of his wife, and still applied himself wholly to his studies, and to the weighty busineses of his heavenly calling.

He

He lived with this his wife for the space of two and twenty years in much love, and peace, and had by her thirteen children, seven sons, and six daughters, whereof eight lived to mens, and womens estate, and were all of them carefully educated, and sufficiently provided for.

His Children.

It was his earnest desire, and daily prayer to God for his sons that they might all be preachers of the Gospel, so highly did he prize the function, that is so vilified and contemned by too many others, for he himself found such comfort, and content in that calling, that he thought no greater could be found in any other; and he often professed for his own part, that the greatest pleasure he took in the world was in the employments about the work of the Ministry, insomuch as he was wont to say to divers Honourable persons of his acquaintance, and particularly to the Lord *Cowenry*, Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, that he *envied not his great place, and employment.*

His esteem of the Ministry.

In the order and government of his Family, he was very exemplary. His house was another *Bethel*, for he did not onely constantly upon conscientious principles use morning and evening Prayer and reading the sacred Scriptures in his Family; but also he catechized his children, and servants, wherein God gave him a singular gift for their edification; for in teaching them he used not any set form, but so, as that he brought them whom he instructed, to express the principles taught them in their own words; so that his children (as *Gregory Nazianzen* saith of his Father) found him as well a spiritual as a natural Father. Yea never any servant came to his house, but

His Family government.

gained

gained a great deal of knowledge therein: So likewise did diverse others, who at the request of their Parents were instructed by him.

His sanctifying of the Sabbath.

He was in a special manner a strict and conscionable sanctifier of the Lords day, and that not onely in the exercise of publick duties incumbent upon his Office, but also in the private sanctification of it in the duties of piety in, and with his Family, and secret in his Closet, and for this end, as he did forbear providing of Suppers the Eve before the *Sabbath*, that servants might not be occasioned thereby to sit up late; so neither would he suffer any servant to stay at home for dressing any meat upon the Lords day for the entertainment of friends, whether they were great or mean, few or many.

His visiting the sick.

On the *Sabbaths*, after his publick labours were ended, divers Neighbours (wanting helps in their own Families) came to his house, where he repeated his Sermons after so familiar a manner, that many have professed that they were much more benefited by them in that his repetition, than they were in the first hearing of them; for he did not use word by word to read out of Notes what he had preached, but would by Questions and Answers draw from those of his own household such points as were delivered; and this Exercise being ended, his constant course was to visit such of his Parish as were sick, or by pain and weakness were disabled to go to the publick Ordinances, with each of whom, he would discourse of some spiritual and heavenly subject suitable to their condition, and after that, he prayed with them, wherein he had a more than ordinary gift, being able in apt words and expressions to commend their several cases unto God, and

and to put up Petitions suitable to their several needs.

His usual course was to pray eight times in the publick Congregation on the Lords dayes; for as he prayed before, and after each Sermon; so also before, and after his reading and expounding the Scriptures, which he performed both in the forenoon and afternoon. And in his Family his constant course was to pray thrice every Lords day, and that in a solemn manner, viz. in the morning, and evening, and after his repetition of the Sermons.

His frequent
Prayers

He was ordained Minister in the two and thirtieth year of his age, and about a year after, which was in June 1608. he was called to the exercise of his Ministry in the Parish of *Black-Friars London*, where he continued to his dying day, which was about five and forty years, and six months, never accepting of any other Ministerial employment, though he had the proffers of many great places: His manner of coming to *Black-Friars*, was thus,

His Ordination

That Parish being destitute of a preaching Minister, Mr. *Hildersam*, a famous, pious & powerful Preacher, being in company with some of the better sort of the Inhabitants of *Black-Friars*, who complained of their want, he told them that there was one living in *Stratford-Bow*, who was out of employment, whom he judged very fit for them. Hereupon divers of them went thither on the Lords day, where he frequently preached gratis, to help the Minister that then was there, and upon hearing of him they liked him so well, that making report thereof to their neighbours, he was by an unanimous consent (*nemine contradicente*) chosen to be their Minister, which election being made known

His choice to
Black-Friars.

to

to him, he accepted of it, and ever after shewed a great respect to the Inhabitants of that place.

Before Mr. *Gouge* came to them, they had not so much as a Church of their own to meet and hear the word of God in, nor any place wherein to bury their dead, but by such means as he used, the Church and Church-porch, together with the Ministers house, and Church-yard (all which they enjoyed before but upon curtesie) were bought in, so as now, they all, as their proper Inheritance, do belong to the Parish of *Black-Friars*. And five years after his coming thither, the old Church being found too little to entertain those multitudes that flocked thither from all parts of the City, to hear him, he was an instrument of purchasing in certain rooms adjoyning, whereby the Church was enlarged almost as big again as it was before. The sum of purchasing, new building, and beautifying of which Church amounted to above one thousand five hundred pounds, all which was procured, partly by Collections at his Lectures, and partly by the voluntary contributions of his Parishoners, without any publick Collections in other places.

After this, there being divers rooms under the said Church belonging to several Land-lords, he used such means as to purchase them also for the benefit of the Parish, which he did the rather to prevent all dangers that by wicked minded persons might have betaln Gods people in that Church, by any contrivance in the rooms under the same.

Thus they who had nothing of their own at his first coming, have now, through his procurement, the whole Church, the Church-porch, a Church-yard, a Vault

Vault to bury their dead in, a very fair Vestry with other adjacent rooms, besides the house wherein he himself dwelt so long as he lived; all which they hold as a perpetual Inheritance.

They have also a Lease of certain Tenements of a considerable value for three hundred years; all which were procured by his Prudence, Interest, and Industry.

Such was his love, and respect to this Parish, as though he was oft proffered places of far greater value, yet he refused them all, oft saying, That the height of his ambition was to go from *Black-Friers* to Heaven.

His self-denial

At his first coming to *Black-Friers*, being in the thirty third year of his age, he preached constantly, besides twice every Lords day, a weekly Lecture, viz. on the *Wednesdays* in the forenoon, which for the space of about thirty five years was very much frequented, and that not only by his Parishioners, but by divers City Ministers, and by sundry pious and judicious Gentlemen of the *Innes of Court*, besides many other well-disposed Citizens, who in multitudes flocked to hear his heavenly Doctrine; yea such was the fame of Dr. Gouge his Ministry, that when any Country Ministers, and godly Christians came to *London* about their affairs, they thought not their business fully ended, unless they had been at *Black-Friers* Lecture.

His Industry.

And it pleased God to give such a blessing to his Ministry, that many of his Auditors, though living in other Parishes, upon Trial before sundry Elderships, have confessed, that the first seeds of Grace sown in their hearts, were by the blessing upon Dr. Gouges Ministry: And indeed herein God wonder-

His success in the Ministry.

fully honoured his labours, by making him an aged Father in Christ to beget many Sons and Daughters unto God, and to nourish up others in the wayes of righteoufneffe, thousands having been converted, and built up by his Ministry.

He used also every month to preach a preparation Sermon before the Communion, on the Eve before each monthly Sacrament.

His painful-
ness.

He was eminently laborious and faithful in the work of his Ministry even to his dying day, preaching so long as he was able to creep up into the Pulpit, *As a tree planted in the House of the Lord, he was fruitful even in his old age*, Psal. 92. 13, 14. He often used to say in his latter dayes, that he could preach with more ease than he could get up into the Pulpit, the reason whereof doubtlesse was this, because as the encrease of his *Asthma* disabled him to go, so the encrease of his Intellectuals enabled him to preach with more ease than in his younger dayes.

His manner of
preaching.

His preaching was alwaes very distinct: First, he opened his Text, giving the true and proper sense of it, then gave he the *Logical Analysis* of it, and then gathered such proper observations as naturally flowed from it, and properly and pertinently improved, and applied the same, by which method his Ministry proved very profitable to his hearers. Many have acknowledged that in regard of the *Logical* resolution of his Text he went beyond all that ever they heard, as also in clearing difficult, and doubtful places of Scripture as they came in his way. And as his method was clear, so were his expressions plain, alwayes delivering the solid points of Divinity in a familiar stile to the capacity of the meanest.

As

As for his life and conversation, it was holy and exemplary, himself practising what he preached unto others, and living over his own Sermons; his Doctrine, and his practice concurred, and went hand in hand together.

His holy life.

Before these times of Examination of persons, before their admission to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, he used to go to the houses of the better sort in his Parish, where he appointed a time for them, and their whole Families to meet together, that he might examine how fit they were to be admitted to that Ordinance: yea he appointed sundry small Families to meet together on a certain day, that he might make trial of their fitness also; and then his manner was, not to admit any of the younger sort to the Sacrament, till in his judgement he found them fitted for it.

Though he addicted himself much to his studies, and carried himself peaceably, yet wanted he not those that did envy, and malign him, and that took all occasions to do him what mischief they could: As in the case of Serjeant *Finch* his book about the *Calling of the Jews*, which Dr. Gouge only published, and the author himself owned it, yet for his publication of it he was committed to prison, and kept there for the space of nine weeks together.

He is envied.

King *James* being informed that the Serjeant had in that Book declared, and endeavoured to prove that the *Jews* should have a visible Kingdome which should be above all other Kingdoms, which Doctrine he abhorred, he thereupon grew extream impatient: Bishop *Neal* also with others, provoked him against the publisher of the Book, which so incensed him, that he would admit

His judgement
about the Cal-
ling of the
Jews.

of no Apology. Yet after a while, Dr. Gouge was moved distinctly to declare his judgement, and opinion about that point of the calling, and conversion of the Jews, which he did in these ensuing Propositions.

All that I can gather out of the holy Scriptures about this point is,

1. That the Calling of the Jews, importeth more than a spiritual Calling to beleieve in Jesus Christ, and to imbrace the Gospel.

2. This their spiritual Calling may be called an outward glorious Calling, in regard of the visibility and generallity of it; to put a difference betwixt the promised Calling of the Nation, and the continual Calling of some few persons. For in all ages since the rejection of the Jews, some few, here and there have been called. Thus the Calling of the Gentiles in the Apostles time, when Christians had no pompous Civil Government, was an outward glorious Calling, by reason of the visible famous Church which they had.

3. It is probable that at, or after their Calling, they shall not be scattered as now they are, but shall be gathered together into Churches, and be freed from the bondage and slavery wherein they have been many years together.

4. To give them a Sovereignty over all the whole Church seemeth to me to be derogatory to that absolute Sovereignty which Christ the head of his Church hath, in whom the promises of the perpetuity of Davids Scepter, of the extent of his Dominion, of the subjection of all Nations are accomplished.

5. To set down the distinct time, place, and other like circumstances of their Calling, needeth more than an ordinary spirit, and implies too much curiosity.

6. The

6. *The point of the Calling of the Jews being no fundamental point of Christian Religion, to be over stiff in holding one thing or other therein, to the disturbance of the peace of the Church, comes near to Schisme.*

Upon which being examined by Archbishop Abbot, and his answer approved, he was released from his imprisonment.

Ordinarily in the Summer Vacation he was with his Family in the Country; but not so much for his own ease, as for the further service of Gods Church: for besides his preaching every Lords day in the place where he resided, he improved his time for the publication of those his Treatises which are now in Print, *viz. The whole Armour of God, Domesticall duties, An Explanation of the Lords Prayer, Gods three Arrows, of the Plague, Famine, & Sword*, upon occasion of those Judgments then raging. *The Saints Sacrifice of Thanksgiving*, upon his recovery from a dangerous sickness. To which is now added his Commentary upon the whole Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which was the subject of his *Wednesdays Lectures* for many years.

His Labours.

While he was settled at *Black-Friers*, he Commenced Batchelour of Divinity *Anno Christi, 1611.* which was the eighth year after he had taken the Degree of Master of Arts.

Anno Christi 1628, he proceeded Dr. of Divinity, at which time eight *London Ministers* proceeded Doctors, upon which occasion, Dr. *Collins*, the then *Régius Professor*, put up Mr. *Gouges* Degree, and procured it to pass in the Regent-house before he had any notice thereof, and without his consent, whereby he did in a manner force him to take his Degree; yet so

He commenced Doctor.

as when he heard what was done, he readily went to *Cambridge*, and performed all his Acts, according to the Statutes of the University, as he had done at the taking of all his former Degrees.

His publick
employments.

Such respect was generally shewed to him, as that in sundry publick Employments he was chosen a *Trustee* or *Foffee*. As in the year 1626, he was chosen one of the *Trustees* for Mr. *Whetenhalls* three Lectures.

Also in the year 1616. he was chosen one of the *Trustees* for buying in of Impropriations, and for many other pious, and charitable uses wherein indeed he alwayes approved himself a carefull, and faithfull *Trustee*, and in some cases, by his great pains and cost, he procured to be settled for ever such pious Donations, as would otherwise have been wrested away, and alienated from their intended use.

The business about the buying in of Impropriations was this:

Buying in of
Impropriations.

There was a select society of thirteen persons joyned themselves together as *Trustees*, to stir up, and encourage such as were piously affected to contribute towards the buying in of Impropriations, and giving them freely towards the maintenance of godly and able Ministers. And these were so faithful to their trust, as albeit they met very frequently, and spent much time, and pains in consultation about that business, yet did they never spend one penny out of the publick stock, for the refreshing of themselves: yea though they had sundry Agents, and Messengers whom they imployed about that business, and that both far and near, yet did they never diminish that stock

stock wherewithall they were intrusted to the value of a penny; but themselves, at least most of them, contributed out of their own purses for the discharge of all by-expences. And when they had the opportunity of buying in any great Impropriation, and wanted money in stock to go through with it, they did amongst themselves give, or lend so much as might effect it; and amongst others, our Dr. *Gouge* at one time lent 300 l. *gratis* for that use, besides the monthly contribution which he gave. By this means, in a few years space, thirteen Impropriations were bought in, which cost betwixt five and six thousand pounds, into which their care was to put godly, able, and orthodox Ministers, and their design was to plant a learned and powerful Ministry, especially in Cities, and Market Towns in several parts of the Kingdome where there was the greatest need, for the better propagation of the Gospel in those parts.

Indeed this was it that raised up so much envy against them, and made Dr. *Laud*, the then Bishop of *London* to consult with Mr. *Noy*, the Kings Attorney General about dissolving this Society, and hereupon Mr. *Noy* brought them all into the Court of *Exchequer*, picking this quarrel against them, for that they had made themselves a body Incorporate, without any Grant from the King. When the Case had been debated by Learned Council on both sides, the result was, that the Court adjudged their proceedings to be illegal, that their Trust should be taken from them, and that what Impropriations they had thus purchased should be made over to the King, and that the King should appoint such as he thought meet, to
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dispoſe of thoſe Impropriations which they had bought in.

The aforeſaid Attorney that ſtrictly examined all their Receipts, and Diſburſments, found that they had laid out of their own money, at the time when they were queſtioned, a thouſand pounds more than they had received, and thereupon obtained an Order of the Court, that thoſe debts ſhould be firſt diſcharged out of the Revenues of the Impropriations, before they ſhould be diſpoſed to particular uſes. Thus was their Truſt quite wreſted out of their hands, and that excellent work fell to the ground.

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He is choſen
to the Aſſembly
of Divines.

Anno Chriſti 1653, Dr. Gouge was by the Authority of Parliament called to be a member of the *Aſſembly of Divines*, wherein his attendance was aſſiduous, not being obſerved during the whole time of that *Session* to be one day abſent, unleſs it were in caſe of more than ordinary weakneſs, ever preferring that publick employment before any private buſineſs whatſoever, and therein he was not one to make up the number onely, but a chief and uſeful member.

For he was choſen, and ſate as one of the *Aſſeſſors* and very often filled the Chair in the Moderators, abſence, and ſuch was his conſtant care, and conſcientiouſneſs in the expence of time, and improving it to the beſt advantage, that in caſe of intermiſſion in the *Aſſembly* affairs, he uſed to apply himſelf to his private ſtudies: For which end it was his conſtant practice to carry his Bible, and ſome other Books in his pocket, which upon every advantage he drew forth, and read in them, as was obſerved by many.

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Episcopacy also being voted down by both Houses of Parliament, and so no ordinary way being left for the Ordination of Ministers, the Parliament thought fit to set up an extraordinary way by Three and twenty Ministers, who for the space of a year were to Ordain such as tendred themselves according to the Rules prescribed by them, with the humble advice of the Assembly, of which number *Dr. Gouge* was one, and acted with his Brethren therein; at which time I observed his strictness in keeping of Fasts: For on an Ordination day, which was alwayes accompanied with Fasting and Prayer; in the afternoon one proffered him a peece of a candied Orange Pill, which (though he was then very ancient) he refused to accept of till the work of the day was finished.

To the Ordination of Ministers.

He was likewise chosen by a Committee of Parliament, amongst others, to write large *Annotations* upon the Bible, being well known to be a judicious Interpreter of Scripture, and how well he performed that Task, is, and may be evident to all that read his part, which was from the beginning of the first Book of the *Kings* to *Job*. In which the Intelligent Reader may observe such skill in the Original, such acquaintance with the sacred Story, such judgement in giving the genuine sence of the Text, and such acuteness in raising pertinent Observations, that without the help of any other Commentators, a man may accommodate himself with the sence, Doctrines, and uses of most of those Scriptures that came under his hand, in those brief *Annotations*.

To write Annotations on the Bible.

Before this, when the Book allowing Sports and Recreations on the Lords Dayes was by publick

He refused to read the Book for Sports.

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Authority injoyned to be read in all Churches throughout the Kingdome, he, as sundry others, godly and faithful Ministers refused to read the same, resolving rather to suffer the uttermost, than to manifest the least approbation of so wicked, and licentious a practice, it being so contrary to the expresse letter of the Scripture.

His skill in
Cases of Con-
science.

By reason of his ability and dexterity in resolving Cases of Conscience, he was much sought unto for his judgement in doubtful cases, and scruples of Conscience, and that not only by ordinary Christians, but by divers Ministers also both in the City and Country, sometimes by word of mouth, and other sometimes by writing: And indeed he was accounted the Father of the *London Divines*, and the Oracle of his time.

He was likewise a sweet comforter of troubled Consciences, wherein he was exceeding skilful, and dextrous, as many hundreds in the City have found from time to time, being sought unto far and near by such as groaned under afflictions and tentations, many of whom, through Gods blessing upon his labours, were restored to joy and comforts out of unspeakable terrors and torments of Conscience.

His Meekness.

He was of a most sweet, and meek disposition; yea such was his meekness of spirit, that it seemeth not to be paralleld. For though he lived with his wife above twenty years, yet neither childe, nor servant, could ever say that they saw so much as an angry countenance, or heard so much as an angry word proceed from him towards her all her life long.

Some have observed, that towards his latter end in his

his visage he did much resemble the Picture that is usually made for *Moses*. Certainly he was the exact *Effiges* of *Moses* his spirit, and in this resembled him to the life, that he was one of the meekest men that this Generation hath known.

He was, as a great peace-keeper, so a great peacemaker, having an excellent dexterity in composing of differences, he was far from doing wrong to others, and as far from revenging wrong done to him by others.

A Peace-maker.

Notwithstanding which, he suffered much, both by the speeches, and also by the actions of evil, and envious persons; yet his manner was, rather to pray for them, than in any harsh manner to retaliate like for like. He alwayes judged that revilers, and injurious persons wronged themselves more than him.

Sundry scandalous and false aspersions were cast upon him, yea by such persons as were guilty of those very crimes which they laid to his charge. For some who lived by the unwarrantable trade of Usury, to justify their own unlawful practices, have not stuck to charge the same upon him, though he was alwayes free from it, never putting out any money to use, either by himself, or any other for him, neither directly, nor indirectly, as he hath been often heard to affirm, both in his life time, and not long before his death.

He is slandered.

Being chosen President of *Sion* College, according to the custome, when he left his Office, he preached a learned and polite *Latine* Sermon *ad clerum*, which he delivered by the strength of his memory, without the help of his notes, which shewed

His good Memory.

His Charity.

that though his body was decrepit, and feeble, yet his intellectuals were vivid, quick and vigorous.

He was very charitable, especially to the godly poor, according to that direction of the Apostle, *Gal. 6. 10.* where he exhorts us *to do good to all, but especially to the household of Faith.* He maintained some poor Schollars in the University wholly at his own charge, and contributed liberally towards the maintenance of others. Indeed he set apart a *Sacra stock* as he called it, a portion for the poor, proportionable to his receipts, which he faithfully distributed.

Yea he was of such a charitable, and bountiful a disposition, that though his Father left him a competent estate, yet such were his annual disbursements for his kindred, and others that stood in need of relief, that from the time of his Fathers death till his children came to be of years, and so to call for their portions, he laid up nothing of all his comings in, whereby it may appear, that they, who out of envy cry up his estate to be greater than it was, do consequently cry up his bounty and charity: For that whatsoever his estate was, it was wholly laid out for the relief of such as stood in need (necessary expences for his Family only excepted) which as it doth appear by his Papers; so in his life time he professed it to some of his Children; and truly as in other things he excelled many others, so in this he excelled himself.

His Studi-
ousness.

He was very conscientious in the expence of his time from his youth to the very time of his death. His custome was to rise very early both in the Winter and Summer. In the Winter time he constantly rose so long before day, as that he alwaies performed all the

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exercises of his private devotions before day-light: And in the Summer time he rose about four a clock in the morning; by which means he had done half his work before others began their studies. If he happened to hear any at their work before he began his studies, he would say (as *Demosthenes* spake concerning the Smith) that he was much troubled that any should be at the works of their Calling, before he was at his.

He was a man of much temperance and sobriety, both in his eating, drinking, and apparel: And for Recreations, howsoever many pious persons do spend time therein, and that lawfully in warrantable Recreations, yet he spent none of his so, whence it was that he was never expert in any kinde of sports: He hath been often heard to say, that he never took any journey meerly of pleasure in all his life-time. Study, and pains were alwayes, both in youth and age his chiefeft pleasure and delight; yea *it was his meat and drink to be doing the will of his heavenly Father*, wherein he took as much pleasure and delight, as natural men do in their eating and drinking, or in their disports and pastimes.

His Temperance.

Such was his deportment in his conversation, that there was scarce a Lord, or Lady, or Citizen of quality, in, or about the City that were piously affected, but they sought his acquaintance, and were ambitious to enjoy his company, wherein they took much content, and found much benefit to their souls thereby.

His Deportment.

And whereas many persons of quality out of their great respect to him, came to visit him, he would so

endeavour to order their conference as might tend most to their edification; and if their visits were merely complemental, he soon grew weary, and accounted it a burden to him.

His Affability

He was alwayes of a very friendly, and courteous disposition, in so much as the meanest, not only of his own Parish, but of the City, found easie access to him, and he was as easie to be intreated, yea ready to do what good he could to all.

His Humility

And amongst other Graces his humility was very eminent, and exemplary: Though others knew ~~not~~ when his face did not shine, yet he knew not when it did. He that readily could observe the least glimpses or appearances of any worth in others, would not acknowledge them in himself: He was (as it was said of *Nazianzen*), high in employments, and abilities, but low in his disposition, and resentment of his own worth. He was not observed to be puffed up either with the multitudes that flocked unto his Ministry (which were many and great) nor with any applauses of men; but would still say, *That he knew more by himself to abase him, than any could know to extol him*; yea so eminent was his Humility, that he charged his Executor, to whom he committed the care of his Funeral, that there should no *Green-staffe* be laid upon his Herse, though this usual respect is given to those who in their life-time were Governours of the Hospital of *Bridewell*, one of which number this worthy Doctor was, yea and a Benefactor too to that House: As also that he should not affixe any *Escucheons* to his Herse, though he was a Gentleman of an ancient Descent, as if he had thought that the poverty of Christ was his

Patrimony, and Coat of Arms, and his interest in him, his greatest, and best achievement; or as if both living and dead he would be (as the Apostle speaks) *cloathed with Humility.*

He was much in Communion with God, and contented not himself only with his constant, daily, and ordinary holy duties, but was also frequent in extraordinary exercises. In the Bishops times, when it was not permitted to keep Fasts in the publick Congregations, he was one of those Ministers who frequently help private Christians in their more retired Humiliations. In times of fears and dangers, he with divers others, had sometimes monthly, yea sometimes weekly Fasts, whereof many were kept in his own house, and others of them in his Vestry; which he was observed to perform with extraordinary reverence & awfulness of spirit. His Confessions were accompanied with much sense of, and sorrow for sin, brokenness of heart, self-aborrancy, judging of the creature, and justifying of God: His petitions were pertinent, judicious, spiritual, seasonable, accompanied with faith and fervency; like a true son of *Jacob*, he wrestled with supplications, and tears, as resolving not to depart out of Gods presence without a blessing.

But there was none like him in Thanksgiving, when a man would have thought that he had spent the last drop of his spirits and strength in Confession and Prayer; O! how would he recollect his spirits when he came to the work of Thanksgiving, wherein he would be so large, particular, warm, and vigorous, that in the end of the day when mens affections grew flat, he would so revive and quicken them, as if
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His Fastings.

His Thanksgivings.

the work had been then but newly begun, and as if that had been the onely work of the day; and herein indeed he may be a pattern to all his surviving Brethren in the Ministry.

He was very inquisitive after the state, and condition of the Church of Christ, both at home, and abroad, that he might accordingly order his prayers in their behalf, of whom he was never unmindful in his addresses unto God. And when he heard that it went ill with the Church of God in any place, like another *Nehemiah, he sate him down, and wept, and mourned, and fasted, and prayed unto the God of Heaven* in their behalf.

His Sympathy

His Faith.

His study was as great to advance Christ, as to debase himself. He used frequently to say, *When I look upon my self, I see nothing but emptiness, and weakness; but when I look upon Christ, I see nothing but fulness and sufficiency.* When the hand of his body was weak and shaking, that of his soul, his faith was strong and steady. When he could not hold the Cup at the Sacrament, nor scarce carry it to his own mouth by reason of his Palsie hand, yet then with a firme and fixed affiance did he lay hold upon Christ, and with a strong and eager appetite applied his blood to his soul, and his manner was sweetly to breathe forth joyful Thanksgivings for his refreshment by the blood of Christ, when he was returned to his house after the Lords Supper; yea when he could hardly creep with his body to the place where it was celebrated, and was forced many times to make use of the help of others to support him in his passage thither, even then did his faith run swiftly, and was upon the wing to carry him to Christ.

Christ. When worldly supports failed him, when health, and strength forsook him, he made Jesus Christ the staff of his old age, often professing, as his great misery and impotency without him, so his holy and humble recumbency upon him.

Great was his patience under the visiting hand of God, especially in his old age, when God exercised him with painful maladies. Though by reason of the sharpness, and bitterness of his pains occasioned by the stone, and acuteness of his urine, and that *Lethalis arundo* (as he oft called it) that deadly arrow in his side, which he knew could never be plucked out but by death, I mean his *Asthma*, which he got by an excessive cold in attending upon publick employments: Notwithstanding (I say) by reason of these he was often heard to groan, yet never did he once grumble against the dispensations of God. Never did he complain of God for his sufferings, though oft of himself for sinning: He never cryed out *A great sufferer*, but oft, *A great sinner*! and yet he would overtake that expression again, with the discoursing of, and comforting himself in *A great Saviour*, and in the depth of his torments he would say, *Well, yet in all these there is nothing of Hell, or of Gods wrath.* His sufferings were never so deep, but he could see the bottome of them, and would say, *Soul be silent, soul be patient, It is thy God, and Father that thus ordereth thy estate, Thou art his clay, he may tread and trample on thee, as pleaseth him: Thou hast deserved much more: It is enough that thou art kept out of Hell: Though thy pain be grievous, yet it is tollerable: Thy God affords some intermissions, he will turn it to thy good, and at*

His Patience.

length put an end to all; none of these can be expected in Hell.

His excellent
Speeches.

He used often to make mention of the extent of obedience, which he said, was not onely to endeavour to do what God requireth, but also patiently to bear what Gods will is to lay upon his creature, as Christ himself, *though he were the Son, yet learned he obedience by the things which he suffered.* In his greatest pangs, he oft used this speech of holy Job, *Shall we receive good from the hands of God, and not evil?* He often commended his soul unto Christ, and used to say, *I am perswaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him against that day.* When any of his Friends went about to comfort him in those gifts which God had bestowed on him, and works which he had wrought by him, he would answer, *I dare not think of any such thing for comfort; Jesus Christ, and what he hath done, and endured, is the only ground of my sure comfort.* Many that came to visit him in his weakness, professed that they went away better than they came, by reason of those savoury and gracious speeches, and expressions that proceeded from him.

His Sicknes.

Though, towards his latter end, his fits of the Stone were frequent and sharp, having sometimes four or five of them in an hour, yet such was his desire to finish that his so much desired Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, that so soon as the bitter pain of his fit was over, he still returned to his work, making some further progress therein. And thus he continued labouring in that employment through many pains till *Tuesday the 6. of December, Anno Christi, 1653.* About which time, as his natural strength was

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exceedingly decayed, so now also his Intellectuals began to fail, and for the following three dayes, a drowsiness seized upon him, insomuch that he could not hold up his head to look into a Book, but slumbered away his time in a Chair; and upon *Friday* being the third day after he had given over his studies, enquiring what day it was, he cried out, *Alas! I have lost three dayes.* The day following being *Saturday* he had no desire to arise out of his bed, neither indeed could he, in regard of his weakness, which was such, and he was so sensible of it, that he said, *Now I have not long to live in this world, the time of my departure is at hand, I am going to my desired Haven;* the apprehension whereof was no little joy unto him, for he had often said to such of his friends as came to visit him in his sickness, *I am willing to dye, having, I bless God, nothing to do but to dye.* Indeed sometimes he seemed to be in the same strait with *St. Paul* between Life and Death, *having a desire to depart that he might be with Christ, which was best of all:* but yet very desirous he was to finish his Commentary upon the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, which he knew would be very useful to the Church of God, and in that respect he was willing to live; and God so far answered his desire in that particular, that he lived to finish it within half a Chapter. But when he perceived that his time in this world could not be long, O! how sweet, and joyful was the apprehension of Death unto him, which he often termed, *his best friend next to Jesus Christ.* So that he came willingly; he was not plucked and dragged to Death: Death was his familiar acquaintance; it was his priviledge as well as his task. When his good sister said to him in

his sickness, Brother, I am afraid to leave you alone, *Why Sister* (said he) *I shall I am sure, be with Jesus Christ when I dye.* The meditation of Death was not more frequent than sweet unto him. His soul was upon the wing, and was bent Heaven-ward, even whilst it was in the cage of his decrepit body.

Upon *Saturday*, though he kept his bed through weakness, yet was he more wakeful, and his spirit more lively, and cheerful, than for several dayes before, which questionless was from his joyful apprehension of his approaching departure.

His speeches that day were more than ordinary Heavenly: He spake much in the admiration of Gods Free grace, and riches of his Mercy in Jesus Christ.

As while he lived he led a heavenly life, so about the time of his death, by those comforts, and joyes that he found in his soul, he seemed to be in Heaven, even while he was upon the earth; and so he continued full of sweet, and divine comfort, and heavenly expressions to the last of his understanding and speech, which continued to *Munday* morning, when both of them failed him; from which time he lay breathing, yet shorter, and shorter till eight of the clock at night, about which time, in the presence of all his Children, and divers of his Friends, he quietly slept in the Lord, making an happy change from earth to Heaven, which was *Decem. 12. Anno Christi 1653*, being 79 years o'd, after he had served God faithfully and painfully in his Generation.

His Death.

A Catalogue of the Books published by him.

Of Domesticall Duties on Eph. 5. and 6.

The whole Armour of God, on Eph. 6.

Of the sin against the Holy Ghost, on Matth. 12. 31, 32.

Mar. 3. 28, 29.

Upon the Lords Prayer, called, A Guide to go to God.

Gods three Arrows, Plague, Famine, and Sword, on

Num. 16. 44. &c. 2 Sam. 21. 1. Exod. 17. 8.

The extent of Gods Providence, Nov. 5. on Matth. 10.

29, 30, 31.

The Dignity of Chivalry, on 2 Chron. 8. 9.

The Saints Sacrifice, or a Comment on Psal. 116.

Two Treatises, 1. The Sabbaths Sanctification. 2. A

Treatise of Apostacy, on Luke 15. 31.

The Saints Support: A Sermon before the Commons

in Parliament, on Nehem. 5. 19.

Mercies Memorial, Nov. 17. on Exod. 13. 3.

The Progress of Divine Providence: A Sermon be-

fore the House of Lords, on Ezek. 36. 11.

A Funeral Sermon, on Ezek. 24. 16.

The Right way: A Sermon before the Lords, on

Ezra 8. 21.

Two Catechismes.

A Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

My Reverend Friend Mr. *Tho. Gouge*, eldest Son to this famous Doctor, desired me to insert this Life, amongst these other Worthies contained in this Volume.

The Life and Death of Mr.
Thomas Gataker, who dyed *Anno*
Christi, 1654.

His Parentage

MR. *Thomas Gataker*, or *Gatacre* (for so he wrote himself till of later years to prevent miscalling, occasioned frequently by the view of the Letters, he changed it into *Gataker*) was a branch of a very ancient Family, so firmly by Gods Providence planted in *Shropshire*, that the Stock hath continued in the same House, carrying the Name of its owner, and known by the Title of *Gatacre-Hall*; by an un-interrupted succession from the time of King *Edward the Confessor*.

His Father, Mr. *Thomas Gatacre* (being a younger Son of *William Gatacre*) was designed by his Parents to the study of the *Law*, in order whereunto he was admitted a Student in the Temple: And during his abode there, he, occasionally went to visit some of his Kindred, who were then high in place, and power, whereby he was often present at the examination of some Christian *Confessors* of the Gospel, in those bloody times wherein Satan armed all his Forces to suppress that dawning light which threatned ruine to his Kingdome of darknes.

The harshness and cruelty of those proceedings, together with the constancy of those weak, yet sincere Christians, who with evidence of truth, and resolution of minde maintained faith and a good conscience,

were

were very prevalent with him to facilitate his entertainment of that purer Doctrine of the Gospel which began to shine into his soul.

This being apprehended by his Parents, fearing his change in Religion, they sent him over to *Louvaine in Flanders*, and to win him to a compliance with them in Religion, they settled upon him an estate in a Lease of an hundred pounds *per annum* in old Rents; but like *St. Paul*, Phil. 3. 8. *He counted all outward advantages as nothing in comparison of the knowledge of Jesus Christ.*

His Father therefore perceiving how fixt and unmoveable he was in his choice of Religion, in which yet he had nothing to except against, but only the novelty of it, he recalled him into *England*, and in great displeasure revoked his former Grant of 100 l. *per annum*, which yet could not be effected without his Sons consent: But this young Disciple had already learned the hard lesson of self-denial, and of forsaking all to follow Christ, and therefore to preserve his conscience pure and intire, he gave up that which was intended as a baite to *Apostacy*. But the Lord, who hath promised to his faithful followers reparation and satisfaction for all their losses for his sake, raised him up Friends, by whose assistance, and encouragement, he pursued his studies at *Oxford*, and in process of time, when, not onely the clouds of ignorance and superstition were dispelled, but also those bloody storms in the *Marian* dayes were blown over, he took upon him the publick Ministry of the Gospel, and was household Chaplain to that great Favourite, *Robert Earle of Lecester*, and afterwards Pastor of *St. Edmunds in Lumbard-*

His Birth.

Lumberd street, London : In which Parsonage house by his wife (who was of an honest Family of the *Pigots* in *Hertfordshire*) amongst other children, he had this *Thomas*, who was born *September* the 4. *Anno Christi* 1574.

His Education

In his Childe-hood he was so addicted to those means which his Parents applied him unto, for the implanting in him the seeds of good Literature, that he rather needed a bridle, than a spur: For his love of learning (equal to that admirable capacity, wherewith the Father of Lights had furnished him) was so active in the acquiring of it, that his Father was fain often gently to chide him from his book. Neither were his nimble wit, sharp judgement, and vast memory perverted to be the instruments of that debauchery wherewith the corruption of our Nature doth too often stain and defloure our first dayes: For he had a lovely gravity in his young conversation; so that what *Gregory Nazianzen* said of the great *Basil*, might be averred of him, *That he held forth Learning beyond his age, and a fixedness of manners beyond his Learning.*

His remove to
Cambridge.

Having happily finished his *Tyrocinnia* of firste exercises in the *Grammar-Schools* (wherein he overcame by his strange industry the difficulties which those times (destitute of many helps which our present dayes do enjoy) conflicted withall, and outstripped many of his fellows which ran in the same course; before he had compleated sixteen years *viz. Anno Christi* 1590, he was by his Father placed in *St. Johns College* in *Cambridge.*

Not long after his settlement there, his Father
(be-

(being called by God to receive the reward of his labours) left him, not wholly destitute, and yet not sufficiently provided for any long continuance of his studies in that place. But God who hath engaged his truth and mercy to the upright, and even to his seed also, *Pf. 112. 1, 2.* (especially when the Son doth not degenerate, nor thwart the Providence of God, by a forfeiture of his title to the Promises) provided friends and means for him, who was by an hidden counsel then designed to be an instrument of doing much service to the Church of Christ. Thus the fruit was not nipped in a promising bud, by the Frost of want.

Gods Provi-
den ..

Now not from meer favour, but from merit (upon the proof of his Learning) he was chosen *Scholler* of that worthy Society, wherein he continued his studies with unwearied diligence, and happy success, till he, with abilities answerable to his Degree, commenced Master of Arts. For an instance of his industry, take this, *viz.* That he was a constant Auditor of that eminent Light of Learning, Mr. *John Boys*, who read a *Greek* Lecture in his bed to certain young Students that preferred their nightly studies before their rest and ease. The notes of those Lectures he kept as a treasure, and being visited by Mr. *Boys* many years after, he brought them forth to him, to the no small joy of the good old man, who professed that he was made some years younger by that grateful entertainment.

His industry
and preferment

About this time was contracted that streight friendship betwixt our Mr. *Gataker*, and that faithful servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. *Richard Stock*, which con-

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continued

tinued to the death of this Reverend Minister, as appears by Mr. *Gatakers* testimony given unto him at his Funeral.

His remove to
Sidney College.

An evidence of that good esteem which Mr. *Gataker* had now acquired for his Learning and Piety was this, That a College being then to be erected by the Munificence of the Countess of *Sussex*, the Trustees of that Foundress (being persons eminent for Prudence and Zeal) did choose him for one of that Society, and they transplanted him into that new Nursery of Arts and Religion, being confident that he would (as indeed he did by Christs assistance) prove very fruitful both for the ornament and benefit of that Seminary.

His abode in
Essex.

Indeed they laid hold of him before the house was fit for Inhabitants, fearing lest so fair and promising a Flower should be taken up by some other hand. But while the College was in building. (that he might not lose any opportunity of doing good) he retired himself to the house of Mr. *William Aylofes* in *Essex*, who had prevailed with him to instruct both himself in the *Hebrew Language*, and his eldest Son in that Literature which was proper to his age.

His employ-
ment there.

In this Family, partly by his own inclination, and partly by the encouragement of the Governours thereof, he performed Family Duties for the instruction and edification of the whole household, expounding to them a portion of Scripture every morning, that the Sun of Righteousness might as constantly arise in their hearts, as the day brake in upon them. In this Exercise, whereby he laboured to profit both himself and others, he went over the Epistles of the
Apostles,

Apostles, the Propheſie of *Iſaiah*, and a good part of the Book of *Job*, rendring the Text out of the Original Languages, and then delivering cleer Explanations, and alſo deducing uſefull Obſervations.

Dr. *Stern*, the *Suffragan* of *Colcheſter*, on a time viſiting the Miſtreſs of the Family (to whom he was nearly related) happened to be preſent at one of theſe Exerciſes, at which time Mr. *Gataker* explicated the firſt Chapter of *St. Pauls* Epistle to the *Ephesians*, which is known to be moſt pregnant of Divine Myſteries: But this portion of holy Writ he treated upon with ſuch happy elucidations, that the judicious Doctor was much ſatiſfied with his pains therein, and admiring the endowments of Mr. *Gataker*, exhorted him inſtantly to be Ordained to the work of the Miniſtry, whereby thoſe his gifts might be authoritatively exerciſed for the publick good, and improved for the building up of the Church, and withall, offered him his aſſiſtance in that buſineſs: But Mr. *Gataker*, well weighing the burden of that Calling, and judging modeſtly of his own abilities, which he conceived diſproportionable for that Office (to the full diſcharge whereof the Apoſtle hath ſet, *ἵνα ἴδωμεν, Who is ſufficient?*) thanked the Doctor for his kinde offer, but deferred the matter to further conſideration: But afterwards by the advice of the Reverend Mr. *Henry Alvey*, formerly his Tutor, and whom in this buſineſs he now took for his counſellour, upon his remonſtrance of divers reaſons, and the importunity of Dr. *Stern* aſreſh re-iterated, he aſſented to be Ordained by the ſaid *Suffragan*.

His Ordination.

His return to
Cambridge.

His Diligence

His Ministerial
employment.

The Fabrick of *Sidney-Sussex* College being now finished, he betook himself to the station, and employment whereunto he was before designed, and to the work depending thereon, wherein his pains in seasoning young Students with principles of Piety and Learning, were both great, and very successful: For some of them that watered their Gardens at his Spring, or kindled their Lamps at his Light, grew up to great eminency, as Mr. *John Hoyl*, and Mr. *Thomas Pell*, who were afterwards worthy Fellows of that Society.

About that time there were certain persons in the University, zealous of promoting the glory of God, and of gaining souls to Christ, that lay in a sad condition through the defect of Pastors able to teach, and lead the people in the wayes of truth, life, and peace, especially Mr. *Abdias Ashron* of *St. Johns* College, and Mr. *William Bedel* of *Emanuel*, who set on foot a design of preaching in places adjacent to *Cambridge*, even to a considerable distance. These men invited Mr. *Gataker* to be a partner in this good employment, who being drawn, and encouraged by them, preached every Lords day at *Everton* (a Village in the meeting-confines of *Cambridge*, *Bedford*, and *Huntingtonshire*) where a decrepid man (who was reported to be six-score and ten years old) sustained the name of Vicar, *Vix magni nominis umbra*. Here a Family of the *Burgoines*, resident in that place deserveth this honourable remembrance, that Mr. *Roger Burgoine* during that time, used Mr. *Gataker* with great humanity, and respect, which by him was construed to be an effect of his Piety.

After

After he had thus religiously imployed himself for the space of half a year, manifesting his publick spirit therein, he had some causes that moved him to retire from the University at the motion of Mr. *Ashon* before mentioned, who had been his Tutor, whereupon he removed to Sir *William Cooks* Family, then resident in *London*.

His remove to
London.

This place and imployment occasioned a more publick discovery of his Ministerial Gifts, with the singular approbation of many persons of note, not onely for their outward estate, but also for their affection unto, and judgement in Religion. Hereupon the Lecturers place of *Lincolns Inne* falling void, some principal persons of that Honourable Society (who had been his Auditors occasionally elsewhere) made addressees unto him, inviting him unto that place, offering their assistance, and alledging the facility of his Introduction by the Lord Chief Justice *Pophams* interressing himself in the business, whom they knew to have loved his Father Mr. *Thomas Gataker* (being once his intimate friend, and contemporary in the study of the *Law*) and to favour this his son very highly for his own worth and work in the Ministry: But he, according to his usual modesty, declined the undertaking of it, and resisted the importunities even of his Friend Mr. *Stock*; till Dr. *Mountague*, Master of *Sidney-College*, repairing to *London*, and being made acquainted with the design in hand (though he had it in his thoughts to invite Mr. *Gataker* back to the College, that he might read an *Hebrew* Lecture which had a Salary annexed to it by the Lord *Harrington*; yet) laying that aside, he pressed Mr. *Gataker* with

His call to *Lin-*
colns-Inne.

Arguments, and Authority, encouraging him against his own diffidence, and so wrought him at last to an assent, that without any suit made by him the Lord *Popham* should recommend him to that Society.

Thus was he chosen Preacher at *Lincolns-Inne*, where he spent ten years to the great advancement of Piety amongst them, and with an happy Reformation of some abuses of the Lords day, as he himself testifies in his *Apologetical* Discourse against *Lilly*, p. 16, 17.

But notwithstanding that engagement, Mr. *Gataker* did not totally abandon the Family of Sir *William Cook*, to whose Lady he was near by blood, and dear to them both upon the account of his pious and profitable labours amongst them. Therefore in the Vacation-times, being dis-engaged from his attendance at the *Innes of Court*, he resided in that Family, exercising his Ministry either in their Chappel, or in the Parish Church as occasion offered it self; and this he did with an *Apostolical* minde, not for filthy lucre, but freely, making the Gospel a burden onely to the Dispenser of it; yet such was the care and piety of that Religious pair, that they also would not serve God with that that cost them nothing: For afterwards, in consideration of those his pains freely taken amongst them, they settled upon Mr. *Gataker* an Annuity of 20 l. *per annum*, which also he received for some few years, but afterwards he saw reason to remit it to the Heire of that Family, forbearing to make use of his right he had to it, and forbidding his Executor to demand any Arrears of that Annuity.

This

This is mentioned the rather to shew the generous temper of this holy man of God, who aimed at the spiritual good of others, more than at his own temporal advantages, and how infinitely he was removed from the sordid acquisition of gain, or the prostitution of his sacred Function unto secular designs, which may stop the mouth of malice, and the impudent clamours of some, whose consciences being either gauled or cauterized, spared not to traduce him for covetousness: But his own pen wrote the best Apology, as indeed (according to that of *Nazianzen*) they that will give him a just Character, have need of his Eloquence.

His Self-denial

Whilst he attended on that Flock at *Lincolns Inne*, Sir *William Sidley*, a learned *Mecenas*, and pious Patron of the Church, proffered him a fair Benefice; and when Mr. *Gataker* declined the burden of a Pastoral charge, and pleaded an unwillingness to be removed from those worthy Gentlemen (of whose favour he had such good experience) he endeavoured to persuade him that by taking an assistant, all those inconveniences would be salved, and so he needed not to desert that Society, which in *Terms time* only required his labours and attendance: But Mr. *Gataker*, who poised the burden in the ballance of the Sanctuary, alwayes judged one cure of souls to be sufficient for one man, and therefore ventured the unkinde resentment of the Noble Gentleman upon his refusal, rather than the multiplying of preferments to himself.

After ten years labours profitably employed at *Lincolns Inne*, not onely to the great benefit of the then

His remove to
Rotherhithe.

then living servants of God, but also for the behoof of posterity, especially by that his learned Tractate of *Lots*, there, and then conceived, and formed (wherein what satisfaction is given to conscience in many cases, let the judicious acknowledge.) Mr. *Gataker* thence removed to undertake the Rectory of *Rotherhithe* in *Surry*, of the grounds, motives, and manner whereof he himself hath largely given an account to the world in his *Apologetick* against *Lilly*, p. 44, 48. of which this is the sum;

The Rectory of *Redrith* in *Surry* (as it is commonly called) being void, and one of an infamous life, labouring hard to succeed in it (in order to which, before the former Incumbents death, he had set on foot a transaction with the mother of certain Orphans in whose hands the Patronage was supposed to rest) some of the Religious Inhabitants, valuing the means of Grace above all their other outward enjoyments, cast their eyes, and thoughts upon Mr. *Gataker*, to gain whom, to their own intreaties, they added the mediation of his good Friend Mr. *Richard Stock*, who, when he had by many reasons remonstrated unto him that God did give him a clear call to that place, whose honour, and Ordinances might suffer prejudice by the intrusion of an unworthy man if he should refuse the call, he at last suffered himself to be perswaded, and prevailed with to undertake that charge; which being represented to Sir *Henry Hobart*, the Kings *Attorney General* by Mr. *Randolph Crew* (afterwards Lord Chief Justice) Sir *Henry* that before favoured other pretensions to gratifie some Tenants of his in that Parish, yet now did readily imbrace the motion

con-

concerning the setting of Mr. *Gataker* there, according to his own contentment, and withall wrote a Letter to the Bishop for the removal of all obstructions that lay in the way, or that might hinder his acceptance of the presentation of Mr. *Gataker*, which, being signed with all the hands of the three brethren, who had right to that *Advocation*, was tendered on his behalf.

The report of this his removal was no welcome news to many of that Honourable Society, who would fain have retained him, and some of them offered an enlargement of his maintenance for an argument to keep him, and others of them represented the consistence of both employments by the help of an assistant: But he that made not his Ministry a meer trade of living here, as *Gregory Nazianzene* complained that some did in his time, and too many do in our times, would not multiply his burdens, when he deemed himself unfit for the least, and would not suffer himself to be wrought to any other resolution.

Therefore *Anno Christi 1611*, commending his former charge to the Grace of God, he betook himself to the sole attendance of that Flock of which now the Holy Ghost had made him the Overseer, and his industry in the discharge of his duty there was both constant and great, notwithstanding that he was almost perpetually troubled with the head-ache, wherewith God had exercised him from his very youth, and for which he had only this poor comfort from his Physician, Dr. *Goulston*, his singular good friend (with whom he communicated his studies up-

His Industry.

on *Galen*, and to whom he contributed his assistance for the Edition of some parts of *Galen*) who often told him, that the incurable disease of age would be the onely remedy of his distemper, because together with the abatement of natural heat, his indisposition would grow less vigorous and violent.

His Catechizing.

To the work of his Ministry in publick upon the *Sabbaths*, he added a *Catechetical* weekly Lecture on *Fridays* in the evening, which was designed by him, to lay the foundation of saving knowledge in the hearts of the children, of whom a certain number every Lecture day did give an account of their knowledge by set Answers to Questions delivered out to them aforehand for their instruction (this course of holding a *form of sound words*, agreeable to the Doctrine of the Gospel consigned in holy Writ, of what importance it is, we may gather from that ignorance, and those errors which have invaded the Church in these our times; which mischiefs can hardly be imputed to any thing so much as to the neglect of that usefull duty of *Catechizing*.) But that exercise was performed by him with such an accurate, and methodical explication of the whole *Body of Divinity*, that Christians of riper years, and of long standing in Christs School, did resort to be partakers of those discourses, wherein their well-exercised senses did find not only *milk fit for babes*, but also *solid meat* suitable to *grown men in Christ*.

This course he continued till he had compleated a perfect *Summary of Divinity*, and gave it over when he saw that the least part of his Auditory consisted of those for whose sakes he principally intended this work; his Parishoners being grown at least to a neglect

neglect of his free labours in that kinde.

Mr. *Gatakers* constant retirement in his study caused him to make choise of an help meet for him that might oversee his Family, which was a necessary act of prudence; and therefore not long before he left *Lincolns Inne*, he married the widow of Mr. *William Cupp*, to whose two daughters he was so providently kinde in their education, that he disposed of them in marriage to two Divines of note in the Church, and continued such a fatherly love to them, and theirs, that the world mistook them for his own children. That wife dyed in child-bed of a son that did bear the Fathers name, who, after that he had seen the most remote parts of the world, wherewith we keep commerce, returned home to his Father, and dyed in peace.

His first Marriage.

The same motive still being in force, he after a decent interval of widow-hood, chose for himself the daughter of a Reverend Minister, Mr. *Charles Pinner*, who was brought up in the worthy, and religious Family of Mr. *Ellis Crisp*, brother to Mrs. *Pinner*; and it pleased God to give him a Son by her, whom in process of time he dedicated unto God in the work of the Ministry, but immediately to take away the mother, so that the mothers *Funerals*, and the childes *Baptisme* were celebrated together. Thus our wise and gracious Father tempers the cup for his children, lest they should surfeit upon earthly enjoyments, as they might easily do if they were unmixed with occasions of sorrow.

His second Marriage.

Then did Mr. *Gataker* remain for many years in a disconsolate condition, till at last he adventured and married a Gentlewoman of a very considerable Family,

His third Marriage.

being sister to Sir *George*, and Sir *John Farwell*, and a good esteem for knowledge and piety. By her he had three children, whereof a son, and a daughter were carried to the ground before their mother, but the third yet lives to walk by the light of her Fathers life and Doctrine. This his third wife being of a contemplative minde, fell into a consumption, which so wasted her body, that her soul took its flight from thence into Heaven.

His fourth
Marriage.

Last of all he took to wife a Citizens widow, whose comfortable conversation he enjoyed for the space of four and twenty years, but without any issue by her. His love to her was one motive that induced him to remove out of his Parsonage house into another habitation of his own revenue. For, supposing that she might survive him, he would make a convenient provision for her, that she might not be subject to the curtesie of another for her removal; and that affection extended it self in his great liberality to many of his kindred that were in need of help and support from him, and that both in her life time, and since her decease.

He survived her two years within a few dayes, and because he numbred his dayes with wisdom, and thereupon presumed that the time was approaching wherein his soul should be married to the Lamb, he would not endure to listen to the motion of some, who would have advised him to a new entanglement in the world.

Having thus related his several Marriages in a continued Narrative, let us now step back to take notice of some passages in time that went before the last of them.

Anno

Anno Christi 1620, having a justifiable curiosity to see our neighbour Churches in the *United Provinces*, and something of the *Spanish Provinces* in the *Netherlands*, he took advantage of the Truce between the King of *Spain*, and the *Hollanders* for a free passage between both Countries. Thereupon with his entire friend, Captain *Joshua Downing*, and an old acquaintance, Mr. *Roger Hughes* (his *Mnason*, whose house he frequented at *London*) he took his voyage, taking also along with him a Nephew of his, who was a young Student, to be a partner with him in his Travels. His mother being then alive, had some fears, lest he being a known and noted adversary to the Popish cause (which he had mortally wounded with many and sharp weapons) should suffer inconvenience from that generation of Vipers, whose violent, and virulent malice often prompts them to base courses of secret revenge; but God was his guide, his *Sun*, and his *Shield*, and so prospered his journey, that within a months space (for they took Boat *July* the 13, and returned safe *August* the 14,) he had viewed the most considerable places in the *Low-Countries*. In this his travel he gave better satisfaction to the *English Church* in *Middleburgh*, where he gave way to the importunity of friends, who were desirous to hear him as well as glad to see him, than he did to the *English Papists* in *Flanders*, with whom he had divers debates, wherein he drove some to a confusion whom he could not draw to a conversion.

Anno Christi 1642. A violent fit of the Colick assaulted him, and brought him to the very brink of the Grave; but it pleased God to bring him back

He views the
Low-Coun-
tries.

He is chof n
to the Affem-
bly.

again that he might do him further service. For the year ensuing, before he had well recovered his strength, he was called by the Parliament to sit as one of the *Assembly* which was summoned to be consulted with about Religion; where his endeavours for promoting truth, and suppressing error were sincere and serious: And his study of peace with modesty was in this remarkable, that when his Reasons delivered concerning Christs obedience in order to our Justification (wherein he differed from his Brethren, could not obtain assent from the *major* part, which determined the Question contrary to his sense, his great love of unity imposed upon him silence, and wrought likewise upon him resolutions, not to publish his discourses upon that subject from *Rom. 3.28.* that so he might not publickly discover dissent from the Votes of that Reverend *Assembly*. I wish there had been the like prudence and modesty in some others, who profess themselves to differ but in circumstantial.

His Self de-
nial.

During his attendance upon the work of that Convention, the Earle of *Manchester* (being acquainted with his great worth, and fitness in regard of his Learning of all kinds for *Academical* transactions) offered him the Mastership of *Trinity* College in *Cambridge*, which is the greatest preferment in that University. For that Noble Lord being intrusted by the Parliament with the Reformation of that *Academy*, was not passionately transported with a blinde partiality of mens persons upon any sinister respects, but desired to prefer them whom he judged most worthy, and most hopeful to do Christ service in that place, and therefore being perswaded that Mr. *Gat-aker*

taker might (both in regard of his gravity, and vast Scholastical abilities) be a choise ornament to that University, and a fair copy for others to write by, he was very desirous to place him there. But this good man, though often importuned by many friends to accept of the motion, according to his accustomed modesty, with many thanks to the Noble Earle, refused to undertake that place, though of much honour, service, and outward advantage; pleading, together with his unworthiness, the weakness of his body by reason of age, and thereupon his inability to take journeys: and because he looked upon himself, as having one foot in the Grave, he humbly desired, that a younger man might be thought upon, more likely to be longer serviceable than himself, in a place of so great eminency and trust. And indeed the sense of his own weakness was not a vain presage of his decayes; for not long after he was again surpris'd by the Colick, which before had shaken him, and made his crazie body less able to endure new conflicts, and these were so sharp, that his recovery appeared desperate, not only to his other friends, but even to his Physitians also. Yet it pleased God though he *chastened him sore, not to give him over unto death.* For his studies, which seemed to be his meat and drink in his health, were his physick also when he was sick: For whilst he was confined to his chamber, he prepared for the Press his Dissertation *de Tetragrammato*, and a Grammatical discourse *de Bivocalibus*; and though this for the subject be not comparable to the other, yet it may be averred, that what he did by the by, and for the refreshment of his languishing body, and minde,

His Distem-
pers.

minde, was of more worth than the main work of many Students.

After a long time that he had been a Prisoner in his own house, he, by Gods assistance recovered so much strength as that he was able to go to Gods house: and now he believed himself bound to imploy his Ministerial Gifts in Gods service, and therefore he again adventured into the Pulpit, where he spent himself so far that he strained a veyn in his lungs, for which (being then about Seventy three years old) he was let blood, by which, and other good means God was pleased to carry him through that danger.

When he had recruited his veyns, and sinews with fresh abilities, he, being unwilling to fall under that Woe, *1 Cor. 9. 16.* for not preaching the Gospel, acted more according to the willingness of his spirit, than was proportionable to the weakness of the flesh, whereupon he fell into a relapse of spitting blood (for which he again permitted a veyn to be opened) which laid on him a necessity of forbearing the Pulpit, yet would he never forgoe the administration of the *Sacraments*, nor his usual short discourse at *Funerals* suitable to the present ^{occasion} (whensoever he was solicited thereunto) though even those shorter exercises of his lungs were painful to him, & wasted that oil, which, like a burning light he spent for the enlightning of others.

The main of his time was now spent in his study, and that was not designed as a meer entertainment of himself in a quiet privacy, but to the publick benefit of the Church for the present, and for posterity, as appears amongst other works, by those exquisite *Annotations* upon the Prophecies of *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, and the

the *Lamentations*; and we should have gained more by his later industry, if the malicious slanders of the enemies of the truth had not diverted his time, and studies to some necessary *Apologies*.

Neither did he, when he was by the hand of God disabled to preach, betray his Flock into the hands of Wolves, that would make a prey of precious souls, nor desert it. For being troubled, lest the foundation that he had laid (after the example of the wise *Master-builder St. Paul*) should either not be built upon, or destroyed, he retained the title of *Rector*, with a charge beyond the Revenue (as it was sometimes proved) till provision might be made of a faithful, and Orthodox Minister, to whom he might comfortably devolve both the burden and the benefit.

His care of his Flock.

To his care of feeding his Flock in publick, very agreeable was his diligence in instructing his Family in private; for on *Friday* nights weekly after supper he used to expound that short *Catechisme* which he had published for the use of his Parishioners; in which course he so laid forth the Nature and Attributes of God, the state of man, both intire and corrupt, the means of his Fall, and Recovery; the nature of Faith and Repentance, with the Doctrine of the Sacraments; that his Parlour was one of the best Schooles for a young Student to learn Divinity in; and indeed his house was a private Seminary for divers young Gentlemen of this Nation, and far more Forreigners, who did resort to, and sojourn with him, to receive from him direction, and advancement in their studies; and many who afterwards were eminent in the Churches;

His Family employments.

Persons bred
under him.
English.

both here, and abroad, were brought up under his eye, at least, as *Paul* was at the feet of *Gamaliel*.

Persons of note that had been his assistants were; *Mr. Young*, *Mr. Goodal*, *Mr. Symonds*, (of whom yet in these later times of Division, *Mr. Gataker* hath been heard to say, *It was pity that our Church had lost him*, intimating his turning aside to wayes of separation) *Mr. Grayle*, and others who are yet living labourers in Gods Vineyard.

Forreigners.

Of Forreigners that sojourned with him, and were as ambitious of being entertained by him as if they had been admitted into a University, these were some, *Mr. Thylein*, who was afterwards a Reverend Pastor of the *Dutch Church in London* (whose son was brought by his mother but a fortnight before *Mr. Gatakers* decease, intreating the same good office in the behalf of him, which the Father had with much comfort enjoyed) *Mr. Peters*, *Mr. And. Demetrius*, *Mr. Hornbeck*, *Mr. Rich*, *Mr. Swerd*, *Mr. Wittefrangel*, *Mr. Severinus Benzon*, *Mr. Georg. de Mey*, *Dr. Treschowius*, &c.

His great Memory.

The strength of *Mr. Gatakers* memory was extraordinary, as may appear by this, that though he used no *Common-place* book, yet had he in readiness whatsoever he had read, as is manifested by his manifold Quotations in all his works.

His great Learning.

His Gifts for edification may be conjectured by his works which are extant, in which he hath shewed himself like the ingenuous and industrious Bee for his rare extraction of all manner of knowledge from almost all Authors, and the solid digestion of it first, and then storing it up for the publick good. His *Polite Literature* was admired by the great Lights of Learning

ing abroad, as the excellent *Salmasius*, and others with whom he held correspondence. And the exercise of it with condescension to children hath been enjoyed with wonder and pleasure at his Visitation at *Tunbridge* School with the Right Worshipful Company of *Skinners*, the worthy Patrons thereof, and that which made all his knowledge both usefull and gratefull, was, that he was neither vain in ostentation, nor morose, or illiberal in reservation of it. But beyond all, he sacrificed his Talents to God, while he made *Hagar* serve *Sarah*, and contributed the *Egyptian* spoils, all his forreign learning towards the building of the Tabernacle: For with a strange felicity, he made his Humane Literature (both his *Moral* and *Critical* studies) to become subservient to Religion, and instrumental to the explication of heavenly Truths.

His Graces of sanctification were very eminent in every condition, to all purposes, and towards all his Relations. In the private course of his life, his Piety, Humility and Charity were very remarkable.

His Piety appeared not only by his diligence in preaching, but also by his own frequenting Gods Ordinances dispensed by others; in order whereunto he did once a week at least, repair to some Lecture in *London*, so long as he had liberty to look beyond the bounds of his own Parish: He manifested his Piety also by his strict, careful, and conscientious observation of the Lords dayes, which he wholly consecrated (except the seasons of repast) unto holy duties, and employments; and besides he was free in his Contributions

His Piety.

butions upon divers occasions to the maintaing of the Lords house of Prayer : And because there is a connexion between sacred persons and things, his love to godly and faithfull Ministers may be looked upon as an act of Piety, as well as of Charity.

His Zeal.

Another evident instance of his Zeal for Gods Glory, was his constant consideration of the state of Gods Churches abroad, with a diligent enquiry how it fared with them, and a tender sence of their affliction, which begat his meditation on *Amos 6. 6.* entitled, *Sorrow for Sion* : As also his earnest desire of a Reformation of things amiss amongst our selves, was doubtless acceptable unto God, though this sinful Nation is yet unworthy to have it accomplished. One special effect and property of his Piety was, that holiness of life expressed in a constant tenor of good duties, with the abridgement of his liberty in things indifferent, especially of Recreations (for he understood no Recreations besides study, and made the pleasanter part of his study, the sawce to the more severe) that he might give no scandal to the good, nor encouragement to the bad, alledging often those two golden Rules of St Paul, *All things are lawfull, but all things are not convenient, or expedient, and all things are lawfull, but all things edifie not*, 1 Cor. 9. 6. & 10. 23.

His holy life.

His Humility appeared,

His Humility

1. In that low esteem he had of his own gifts, which yet all others that knew him admired : He was a true *Moses*, that took not any notice of that shining lustre of his own countenance. Like a fair ear of Corn.

Corn loaden with grain, he bended his head downwards: For he had nothing of the *Pharisaical* temper, either to advance himself, or to vilifie his Brethren of meaner gifts.

2. In his freedome from ambition of outward advantages. For he declined not only large means in the Country, but also both Ecclesiastical Dignities, and Courtly preterments. For he studiously waved the counsel of some who had given notice of him to that hopeful Prince *Henry* (whom God only shewed to this Land, and then snatched him away to himself) and had it in their design to make way for his being admitted Chaplain to his Highness; and for the same reason he constantly declined publick appearances, inso-much as he could not, without much reluctancy, be drawn by those who had most interest in him unto more solemn Assemblies.

3. In his meek conversation with, and condescension to the meanest Christians: For he refused not familiarly to converse with the poorest Christian that repaired to him for counsel or satisfaction in their doubts.

His Charity was large, though for the most part secret, both in giving, and forgiving to poor persons: For he would not permit it to blaze, only allowed it to shine when his example was requisite to lighten and lead others to glorifie God, and gratifie men. In redemption of Captives, relief of poor Protestants, especially of the Ministry; to the repairs of publick and common losses, and general calamities, and to the setting forward of any good work he was strangely liberal, the fruit whereof the Lord returned into his

His Charity.

own bolome, according to that promise, *The liberal soul shall be made fat.* Yet did he not so exhaust himself in his life, but that in his last *Will* and Testament he did also bequeathe unto the poor of the Parish of *Redrith* 50 l. To ten of his Brethren in the Ministry, whose wants and necessities, especially if occasioned by the iniquity of the times, he gave 50 l. *i.e.* to each of them 5 l. and to eight Ministers Widows 5 l. a-piece, in all 40 l. to them. Thus his good works both went before him, and followed him also unto Heaven, whereby also he hath left behinde him the perfume of a good name, for the imitation of them that survive.

His Justice.

Justice is presupposed unto *Charity*: For God hates robbery for sacrifice, *Isa* 61.8. And Mr. *Gataker* was exactly just in giving every man his due; though very frequently he remitted of his own right, so that he was, according to the *Hebrew* phrase, a *just man*, that is a kinde, equitable person, of a milde disposition, no severe exacter of his own, and a free dispenser of Gods gifts, so that his *Righteousness endures for ever*, both to his honour upon earth, and to his happiness in Heaven.

His Patience,
and Faith.

In, and about his death, to which the course of his declining dayes leads us, his Patience and Faith were very eminent; the later attended with a deep sense of his own sins, which he acknowledged unto God, and to him only was that Confession needful: For as to men, his conversation was, as a Bishop ought to be, *Irreproveable*, 1 Tim. 3.2.

His Sickness.

The first step to his decease (for *morbis est via ad mortem*, sickness is the rode way to death) was a faint-

fainting fit that surprized him on *Friday* night, *July* the 7, or rather on *Saturday* morning, *July* the 8, yet of this he made no great account (for he disturbed not the rest of a servant by calling for assistance) because he had at sundry times such faintings, wherein he gave Nature leave to work out her victory over those vapours, or viscus humors that oppressed her. Yet thus far he made use of it, that he compared his infirmity to that of *Seneca*, which according to his relation, the Physicians of that age called, *meditationem mortis*, and wished that it might prove to him a preparation to his dissolution. The indisposition, not ceasing with the fit, discovered it self within a short time to be a *Tertian Ague*, which how gentle soever, yet falling upon a person of his age, and crazie temper (who had long supported a weak frame with a very regular course of diet) made his condition doubtful to his *Physitian*, who was one of learning and worth, that employed his best care and skill about that Patient, whom he looked upon as a considerable person to the whole Church.

July the 17, Having published his *Will*, and taken such order as he thought fit for the settlement of his outward estate, he composed himself to God; his *Tertian* growing too strong both for Nature and Art, resolved it self into an almost continued *Fear*, the extream heat whereof was very painful unto him; yet during those conflicts he shewed a sweet calmness of minde, a heart weaned from the world; to which he had no affection, though his memory exactly served him for ordering his charity even to the last; and in one word, he represented a soul wholly submitting to Gods good pleasure.

He

His preparation for death.

He protested more than once, that no outward thing troubled him so much, as the condition of that Reverend Minister Mr. *Sainthill*, who had but lately undertaken that charge at *Redrith* upon the uncertain Title of Mr. *Gatakers* life, which now failing so soon, besides the expectation of his Friends, that Minister he foresaw was like to be unsettled, and thereby to suffer some inconvenience.

Though Friends, and *Physicians* gave him encouraging words at their visits, yet he, being sensible of his inward decays, could not be flattered into vain hopes of long continuance here, earnestly contending that he was not to expect Miracles. His expectation of Gods dismissing of him, hence was so fixed, that being consulted whether he would appoint any one person to perform the last office for him? He not startled at the Question, appointed that Mr. *Ash* should be intreated to do that work, because he had done the same at his last wifes Funerals; and one opportunity casually offered it self to set forward that design. For *July* the 18, Mr. *Ash*, out of his kinde respect to Mr. *Gataker*, sent him two *Funeral Sermons* preached by him, one at Mr. *Whitakers*, the other at the interment of Dr. *Spurflows* only childe. This gave occasion to Mr. *Gataker*, in the return for that favour, to request the last that he could be capable of.

His words to
Mr. *Ash*.

Upon the receipt of a Letter to that purpose, Mr. *Ash* on the *Saturday* following, visited his dear and dying Friend, who then told him, that he found him conflicting with his last Adversary; and that though he knew the sting was pulled out, yet nature would struggle. These, and other of his expressions,
Mr.

Mr. *Ash* presently wrote down, and related them at the end of his Sermon.

That day in the afternoon being *July* the 22, he called for some Papers of Mr. *Baxters* which were sent to him by the Author, with a desire of his judgement concerning them. He wished some short Notes (for the perusal of them had been his last work) to be read over to him, in which he altered something: And having dictated a Letter to that his Learned and Reveren Friend, he appointed that that with the Animadversions inclosed, should be sent to him. So vigorous was his minde in a body drooping, and dropping into the dust.

His return to
Mr. *Baxter*.

He had now given over the use of Physick as to any prolongation of his life: For he said that he would struggle no more, because he found that what was prescribed for the refreshing of nature, did rather oppress it, and therefore he was resolved to wait the Lords leisure. An ancient servant that waited on him, desiring leave to rectifie the bed-cloaths, and saying withall, Sir, your head doth not lye right; he answered, *It will lye right in my Coffin.*

He waits for
Death.

July the 25, at one a clock in the morning, Death began to seize on his left foot, from which the spirits retiring, he felt the deadness of that part, and a very sharp pain in the part of the leg adjoining to it. Hereupon he called for his Son, and told him, *He feared that he should have a difficult death.* He then commanded two Surgeons to be sent for to look upon his leg, whom he required to tell him, whether or no his Foot were any whit discoloured. It seems he had conceived some fear of a *Gangrene*, but being satisfied

Death seizeth
on his leg.

sied by them that there could not be any ground for such an apprehension, he rested with patience. In the evening of that day being visited by Mr. *Santhil*, and lying in great anguish by reason of the violence of his heat, he prayed for pity and patience; support here, and a comfortable issue.

The vigour of
his natural
parts.

July. 26. Early in the morning, being full of pain, gasping, and panting, he cried out, *How long Lord, How long? Come speedily.* But though Death had made an encroachment upon his outward perishing part, yet his inward man felt no decay. For with a full use of reason, he that morning ordered the continuance of a weekly relief to certain poor persons, as also of some small monethly Pensions to some widows for a season: He also caused his *Physitian* to be consulted with about taking something that might procure rest, and was erected to a more cheerful disposition: He also enquired after News, and discoursed freely, yet confessed himself to be in pain.

His last charge
to his Relations.

About three a clock that afternoon, feeling some great change after the putting forth of Nature, he called his Sister, Son, and Daughter to receive his last charge, and when they were come, he thus spake unto them; *My heart fails, and my strength fails, but God is my Fortress, and the strong Rock of my salvation: Into thy hands therefore I commend my soul, for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth:* Then turning his discourse to his Son, he said, *Son, you have a great charge, look to it: Instruct your wife and family in the fear of God, and discharge your Ministry conscientiously.* To his Sister (a Gentlewoman two years elder than himself) he said, *Sister, I thought you might have gone*
before

before me, but God calls for me first, I hope we shall meet in Heaven, I pray God to bless you. His Daughter he admonished, to minde the world less, and God more, for that all things without Piety, and the true fear of God are nothing worth. He advised also that his Son Draper (being a man of means) should entertain some godly Minister into his house to teach his children, and instruct his family. He exhorted them all to love and concord, which (he said) he hoped the rather, because he had cleerly settled his estate, so as to prevent differences. He enlarged himself in each of these a little, wishing them all to lay to heart the words of a dying man. After this he desired that all should withdraw, and leave him to his rest, which he hoped was at hand: But all his conflicts were not yet accomplished.

July the 27, His voice began to be less intelligible, the putrid preternatural heat having furred up his mouth, as is usual in Feavors; yet both his understanding and senses were very quick and active: About six of the clock in the evening he called for his Son to recommend his soul unto God by prayer, and endeavoured to express what he desired, but could not do it so clearly as to be well understood, yet by his gestures he gave assurance that he understood perfectly, and concurred fervently with the devotions used on his behalf. Within an hour after, Nature being quite spent, he gave up the ghost, and was translated into that Rest His Death. which he so often and earnestly had desired to finde in another World, because he could obtain none in this.

Thus after forty three years inspection of this pious

and diligent Pastor of *Redrith*, he left his Flock, returning to the *great, and chief Shepherd of our souls*, from his gracious hands to receive an *incorruptible Crown of glory*, having almost compleated fourscore years.

His Character

For his Person, the express whereof (though he was often importuned by dear Friends) he would never allow to be taken either by pencil, or sculpture. He was of a middle stature, of a thin body, and of a lively countenance, of a fresh complexion, that looked young when he came to preach at *Beicolns Inne*, and yet was grey betimes, which made him to be thought elder than he was, because he had long appeared ancient in the eyes of the world; of a choicely temperate diet; of a free and cheerful conversation, addicted much to study, yet not secluding himself from fit company. He was of a quick apprehension, sharp reason, solid judgement, vast memory, which (through Gods mercy) continued fresh to the last of his dayes. He was *Helluo librorum*, one that did not vainly increase his Library for ostentation, but chose books for use, which also he made of them so happily, that he had conquered a strangoportion of learning, which he made to serve him upon all occasions. He was not so great a treasurer, as a free dispenser of those riches of the minde, which he did communicate readily, expeditely and cleerly. He was an ornament to the University, and of that Society designed for the study of the Law; a Light of the Church, the salt of the place where he abode; a loving Husband; a discreet Parent; a faithful Friend; a kinde Neighbour; a courteous entertainer of strangers; a candid encourager

rager of Students; a stout Champion for the Truth, yet a lover of peace, preserving the unity of Charity even where there was difference of judgement; an Adversary to novel fancies, as well as to antiquated superstitious in Religion; of a Christian Magnanimity in despising the world, and therefore resolute, through *bad report*, as well as *good*, to maintain a clear conscience. In brief, he was a faithful Shepherd, and a fit mirror for Pastors, as well as an exact pattern for people; who having almost compleated eighty years, departed full of ~~age~~; but *being dead, yet speaks* in his living Monuments of sound Learning.

His Printed Works are these:

Of the Nature, and use of *Lots*, in 4^o.

A Just Defence of the same against Mr. *Fo. Balmford*, in 4^o.

Tho. Gatakeri Londinatis Antithesis, partim Guilielmi Amesii, partim Gisberti voetii de sorte Thesis reposita, in 4^o.

A Discourse of *Transubstantiation*, with a Defence thereof, in 4^o.

Dauids Instructor.

The Christian mans care.

The Spiritual Watch.

The gain of Godliness, with Self-sufficiency.

The Just mans joy, with signs of Sincerity.

Jacobs Thankfulness.

Dauids Remembrancer.

Noahs Obedience.

A Memorial of England's Deliverance in 88.

His Works.

Sorrow for Sion.

Gods Parley with Princes, with an appeal from them to him.

Eleazers Prayer, being a Marriage Sermon.

A good Wife Gods gift.

A Wife indeed.

Marriage Duties.

Deaths Advantage.

The benefit of a good Name, and a good end.

Abrahams Decease.

Jeroboams Sons Decease.

Christian Constancy crowned by Christ.

All these are Printed in one Volume in Folio.

The Decease of Lazarus, in 4°.

St. Stevens last Will and Testament, in 4°.

A Defence of Mr. Bradshaw against Jo. Cann, in 4°.

Gods eye on his Israel, in 4°.

A mistake removed, and Free-Grace, &c. in answer to F. Salimarsb in 4°.

Shadows without Substance, a Rejoinder adversus eundem in 4°.

Mysterious Clouds and Mists, &c. an Answer to F. Simpson, in 4°.

Mr. Ant. Wottons Defence, in 8°.

A true Relation of Passages between Mr. Wotton, and Mr. Walker, in 4°.

An Answer to Mr. Geor. Walkers Vindication, in 4°.

A Vindication of the Annotations on Jer. 10.2. in 4°.

A Discourse Apologetical, in 4°.

Marcus Antoninus Imp. cum Commentario, in 4°.

De Novi Instrumenti Stylo. Dissertatio adversus Psochenii Diatribam, in 4°.

Cin-

- Cinnus, sive Adversaria Miscellanea, Lib.6. in 4°.*
De Baptismatis Infantilis vi, & efficacîâ, Disceptatio
inter D.S.Wardum, & Tho. Gatakerum, in 8°.
T.G. Strîctura in D.Davenantii Epistolam, in 8°.
De Tetragammato, in 8°.
Ejusdem vindicatio adversus Capellum, in 8°.
De Bivocalibus, Dissertatio Philologica, in 8°.
Animadversiones in J.Piscatoris, & L.Lucii scripta ad-
versaria de causa meritoria Justificationis, cum re-
sponsione ad L.Lucii Vindicias, in 12°.
Fran.Gomari Disputationes Elenctica, de Justificationis
materiâ, & formâ, Elenchus, in 8°.
Strîctura in Barth. Wigelini Sangallensis de Obedien-
tia Christi disputationem Theologicam, in 8°.
The Annotations upon Isaiah, Jeremy, and the Lamen-
tations, which was his work in the great Notes upon
the Bible.
Adversaria Miscellanea in quibus Sacræ Scripturæ &
& aliorum Scriptorum lux redditur. Edente Ca-
rolo, Thome Gatakeri filio. Fol.

The Life and Death of Mr. *Jeremy Whitaker*, who dyed *Anno Christi, 1654.*

His Birth.

His early seeking God.

His esteem of the Ministry.

Jeremy Whitaker was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, *Anno Christi 1599*, In which place also he was trained up in the *Grammar School*; and it seems that the Lord betimes did draw forth his love towards himself, for even whilst he was a School boy, his affections did flow out towards those who were most religiously disposed, in whose company he used frequently to go eight or ten miles to hear a wakening-soul-warming Sermon; he used also to joyn with them in Prayers, and other holy exercises and duties; and being able to take Sermon Notes, both understandingly, and largely, he was very helpful to those private Christians in repeating what they had publicly heard, being from his child-hood full of affections in whatsoever business he undertook. Thus this Plant of Gods own setting, did both blossome, and put forth fruit quickly, which Providence did afterwards make a very fruitful Tree.

Whilst he was at the *Grammar School*, though his Father endeavoured often, and earnestly to divert his thoughts from the Office of the Ministry, yet was he unmoveable in his desires to be a Minister, and he never afterwards repented of this his choice, but would all his life long upon all occasions, magnifie that his Office, insomuch as he hath often been heard to

utter

utter this speech, *I had much rather be a preacher of the Gospel, than an Emperour*; and when a motion was once made to him to be the Head of a College in the University, he readily returned this answer, *My heart doth more desire to be a constant Preacher, than to be the Master of any College in the world.*

When he was sixteen years old, being well grounded at the *Grammar School*, he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, and admitted a Sizar in *Sydney-Sussex College*, where he soon discovered, and was taken notice of, and much valued for his pregnant parts and Scholarship.

His remove to
Cambridge.

At twenty years of age he Commenced Bachelor of Arts, and a while after he was sent to *Okeham* (the chiefest Town in *Rutlandshire*) there to teach the Free-School.

His remove to
Okeham.

At that time there was one Mr. *William Peachy*, the Minister at *Okeham*, a godly man, and a painful Preacher of the Gospel, and eminent for his skill in the sacred Languages, who dearly loved, and highly valued our Mr. *Whitaker* from his first acquaintance with him; which he manifested by proffering to him his Daughter in Marriage, as Mr. *Whitaker* hath since told some of his Friends; he was the rather inclined to accept of the motion, because she was the Daughter of a pious, painful, and learned Minister of the Gospel; and occasionally hath told his Friends, that he was the better pleased with his choice, because of that relation.

About four years after his coming to *Okeham* he married *Chephizibah*, the Daughter of the said Mr. *Peachy*, by whom God gave him four Sons, and
Y . three

His Marriage
and Children.

three Daughters. All his Sons he designed for the Ministry, but it pleased God in his life time, to take one of them away whilst he was a Student in *Cambridge*; the other three survived, and he lived to see two of them Ordained, and set apart for the work of the Ministry; the third he appointed to be educated for the same work.

His removal to
Stretton.

Having staid about seven years at *Okeham*, he was removed to a Pastoral charge at *Stretton* in the same County, where he continued about the space of thirteen years.

His great
pains.

Whilst he continued School-master at *Okeham*, he undertook and preached a weekly Lecture there, besides many Sermons which he preached occasionally in neighbouring Congregations: And during his abode at *Stretton*, besides his Pastoral employment, wherein he preached twice every Lords day, he also constantly preached his weekly Lecture at *Okeham*, and was a principal prop to hold up some other Lectures in the Neighbourhood. His manner also was to set apart every Holy-day (if there were but one in the week) as a day of seeking God in reference to the necessities of the times, and no man was more free, and frequent in assisting in dayes of Humiliation in private, both in *Rutlandshire*, and in the adjacent Counties whensoever he was called, and invited thereunto.

His frequent
Fasting.

His Family-
duties.

Such was his love to Christ, that his publick employments (though many and great) did not take him off from attending his Family duties, nor from more private exercises of communion with God; his ordinary course in his Family was, together with Prayers, to expound some part of the holy Scriptures, and that twice every

every day, besides other parts of Scripture which he daily read in secret; so that usually he read all the Epistles in the *Greek* Testament twice every fortnight; yea, when by reason of extremity of pain, and weakness, he could not read himself, he herein employed others for his help. Hence it came to pass that he was a man mighty in the Scriptures, like unto *Apollos*, Act. 18. 24. as was observed by all that conversed with him, or that heard him preach or pray, and this course he earnestly commended to the practice of his dearly beloved eldest Son, as an excellent means to make him both a ready, and a profitable Preacher.

Whilst he lived in *Rutlandshire*, came forth the Book allowing Sports on the *Sabbath*, which he refused to read, though it was with commands and threatening pressed upon him. And afterwards when he was called to give in his answer about a contribution amongst Ministers to maintain the War against the *Scots*, he openly told the Bishop, or his Chancellor, that his conscience would not permit him to do it. This his answer exposed him to the hazard of losing both his Living and Ministry, as the times then were; whereupon one of his neighbours, through misguided love, (compassionating him and his Family) payed the money required, and subscribed Mr. *Whitakers* name without his knowledge. This was long concealed from him; but when he came to the knowledge of it, he expressed his dislike with many complaints, and much grief of heart.

His Zeal and
Courage.

As he had early, so he had constant vigorous workings of heart towards the calling and work of the Ministry, and that upon this ground, because he al-

His delight in
the Ministry.

wayes conceived, that therein a Christian might enjoy most fellowship with Christ, and have opportunities of doing him the best service; and he often considered Christs speech to *Peter*, *If thou lovest me, feed my Sheep, feed my Lambs*, Joh. 21. 15, 17.

He was never so well pleased with any employment as when he was about the works of his Ministry: In the Pulpit he was (as it were) in his own element, like a Fish in the water, or a Bird in the air. Though many times he went thither halting, and full of pain, yet did he not manifest any sense of distemper whilst he was in the Pulpit.

He is chosen
to the Assembly.

When an *Assembly of Divines* was to be chosen to consult, and advise the Parliament about *Ecclesiastical* affairs, he was, for his eminent piety and learning, nominated for one, and how usefull and advantagious he was to those affairs, is well known to all that were Members of that Assembly; and when Providence had thus brought him to *London*, he was (as *Paul*, 2 Cor. 11. 23.) *In labours more abundant*, than many, yea than most others.

He is chosen to
Mary Magda-
lenes Bermondsey

Not long after his coming to *London*, he was called, and chosen to the Pastoral charge of *Mary Magdalen Bermondsey* in *Southwark*, about which he consulted with many godly and judicious Ministers, and with their consent and approbation accepted of it, after which, for the most part, his task was to preach constantly four Sermons every week, two in his own Charge, one at *Westminster*, and one at *Christ Church London*; and after he had laid down his *Christ Church* Lecture, at the importunity of the Inhabitants, he took up one at *Stepney*, besides his preaching two Lectures

Lectures quarterly at *Michaels Cornhill*: Adde to these his preaching monethly at the morning Exercises, or else he assisted on the Fast dayes in the conclusion of those Exercises; besides his many occasional Sermons, as for preparation to the Sacrament in his own Church, and at Funerals, both at home and abroad; yea, it is truly reported of him, that he would never deny any request for preaching and praying, if God gave him bodily ability, or other unavoidable occasions did not necessarily hinder him. Many week dayes he preached twice, even then when he attended the work of the *Assembly of Divines*, to wit, the morning Exercise, either at *Westminster*, or elsewhere, and upon some other occasion in the afternoon of the same day. This may minde us of the commendation which *St. Paul* gave of *Epaphroditus*, Phil. 2.30. *For the work of the Lord he was nigh unto death, not regarding his life.* So its well known to multitudes, that this might fitly be applied to painfull *Mr. Whitaker*; yea many conceived that his painfull diseases, which hastened his removal from us, were occasioned, and encreased by his many constant, and indefatigable labours in this kinde.

His great Industry.

And though he preached so often, yet were not his Sermons jejune, wordy, empty Sermons; but alwayes full of Scripture strength, savoury, and affectionate, as his Auditors can well testifye.

Neither is this to be wondred at, if we consider that he was a universal Scholar, both in the Arts, and original Languages: By much study he had digested the whole body of Divinity; he was well acquainted both with the Fathers and School-men: An acute

He was a Universal Scholar.

and solid Disputant, excellently versed in Cases of Conscience, and second unto none in his acquaintance with the sacred Scriptures.

Since our times of wofull desertion and Apostasie, both from Gospel Truths and practices, he would undauntedly both in private Conferences, and in his publick Ministry express his dislike, yea his detestation thereof, to the faces of them how great soever, who too much favoured *Hereses*, Errours, and Ranting courses, though he knew that thereby he did run the hazard of procuring many frowns to himself.

His Zeal and
Courage.

He refused to sign and subscribe the late Engagement, though thereby he was in danger of losing his Lecture at *Westminster*; and if his Sermons preached there upon *Eph. 2. 2, 3.* concerning mens walking according to the course of this world, &c. Fulfilling the lusts of the flesh, &c. could be collected, and published, it would thereby appear, that Mr. *Whitaker* out of his zeal for Gods glory, and love to his Lord Christ, was of an undaunted courage, and full of Christian magnanimity. One further testimony whereof we have in this following Story:

Since these stormy times began, wherein the liberty and livelyhood of Ministers hath been so much maligned and struck at, as he was riding with one of his intimate friends by *Tiburn* (which he had not seen, or not observed before) he asked what that was: and being answered that it was *Tiburn*, where so many Malefactors had lost their lives; he stopped his Horse, and uttered these words with much affection, *Oh what a shame is it that so many thousands should dye for the satisfaction*

satisfaction of their lusts, and so few be found willing to lay down their lives for Christ? why should not we in a good cause, and upon a good call be ready to be hanged for Jesus Christ? It would be an everlasting honour, and it is a thousand times better to dye for Christ, to be hanged, or to be burnt for Christ, than to dye in our beds.

He did often, and zealously defend the Office of a Gospel Ministry both in publick, and in private, and that especially amongst those persons, and in those places, where (as he conceived) there was most need. In one of his morning Lectures at *Westminster*, this passage came from him with much affection, *Though* (said he) *I have read, and heard of some good men, who unadvisedly in their passion, have persecuted the persons of some godly Ministers (as Aha was angry with the Prophet, and cast him into prison) yet I never knew, I never read, nor heard of any godly person who durst oppose the Office and Calling of the Ministry.* And whereas at the end of his Sermon, a Souldier (expressing himself to be dissatisfied with what he had spoken) came to him in private, and asked him, whether he meant this of the Ministry of *England*, as now constituted? He returned him this answer, *Although I will not justify the calling of every individual Minister in the Church of England (as you dare not justify the Saintship of every member in your Independent Congregations) yet I will be ready when, and where you please, to maintain the Office, and Calling of Englands Ministry at this day*

And that he continued unmoved, and unchanged in his judgement, and esteem of the Ministerial Calling

His high
esteem of the
Ministry.

to

to the last, may be manifested by this passage in his last *Will and Testament*, which is here set down in his own words, and written with his own hand, *For my Son Jeremiah, my desire is that he be bred a Scholar, and that the Lord would spiritually incline his heart, freely to give up himself to the Lord to serve him in the work of the Ministry, which Calling and Employment (though now despised) I do esteem above all others in the world, and do commend it to all mine, that if the Lord bleſs them with Sons, they would commend this Calling to their Posterity.*

And truly this deserves seriously to be considered, whether there be not herein much to credit and encourage the Ministry of the Gospel, that a learned man, and so eminent for piety, who also had thoroughly studied the Controversie of the times, and had heard and read what could be said against the Ministry, should yet upon his Death-bed give such a Testimony unto it, when he daily expected to make up his account before God, and also give such great encouragement to his Posterity, to addict themselves to this calling now, even now, when such disgrace is cast upon it, and when the Ministers settled maintenance is threatned to be taken from them: And may not those men, who knew Mr. *Whitakers* worth, be hereby awed and moved to take heed how they oppose or slight that Calling of men, whom he, living and dying, judged to be so highly honoured by God himself? To this also adde, that it was an *Ordained Ministry*, which he thus valued, which appears by these two lively Testimonies; 1. In that he joyned with that *Classis* whereof he was a member in Ordaining of Ministers,

nisters. 2. In that he had an hand in the Book not long since published by the Province of *London* in the defence of such a Ministry, not onely by his assent to it, but also by his assistance in drawing it up.

As Mr. *Whitaker* loved God dearly, so God loved him, which he manifested by those graces wherewithall he enriched him; and truly love-tokens are real Messengers of his love that sendeth them; and what surer signs can we have of Gods love, then when he bestows upon us the Graces of his Holy Spirit? Now of these the Lord had given him a more than ordinary measure, and besides, what hath been said before, there were five Graces more which were very Orient, and shining in his Crown.

Gods love to him.

1. His tenderness of heart: Who ever knew a man of a more melting frame of heart before God, whether in Confessions, Petitions, or Thanksgivings? Is there any one living that can say, that I have at sometimes joyned with him in Prayer, and he shed no tears? How did his own sinfulness (though it was no more than the ordinary imperfections of the fairest Saint upon earth) the evils of the times, and the testimonies of Gods displeasure breaking out upon us, break his heart into pieces? We may truly believe that for the space many years, he did never come off from the serious consideration of these things with dry eyes; and how many thousands be there of Gods children, that would account it a sign of much love from Christ, if they could finde such thawings in their frozen breasts?

His tender-heartedness.

2. His meekness of spirit, with which precious Jewel he was richly adorned: Who ever saw him

His Meekness.

transported by passion, on a fire through foolish anger, or disguised by discontent? Though his zeal would wake hot, and burn in him for God and his Glory; yet he was a man of a cool spirit, and meek, like *Moses*, in all his own concerns; and this he hath often manifested in a remarkable manner, when disputing with men of dissenting Principles and opinions, yet his spirit was so even that their unhandsome provocations could not discompose him, and drive him into passion.

His Patience.

3. For his Patience, he may well be called a second *Job*. Many who saw him under those racking pains in his last sickness, so frequently reiterated, and so long continued, were confident that God did put him, and keep him in his Furnace to be a pattern of patience unto Posterity. It is confessed that he did roar many times till his throat was dry, but who ever heard him speak any one word of murmuring or discontent, because of Gods afflicting Providence? He himself indeed would sometimes through tenderness of conscience charge himself of impatency, because he made a noise in his extremity: but that expressed onely Natures sensibleness, not sinful frowardness, and when (accusing himself causelessly) he was minded of Christs roarings, yet free from all sin, he would be silent.

I confess indeed, that in his desires to be dissolved he would take up *Jobs* complaint, *Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery, and life unto the bitter in soul? which long for death, but it cometh not, and dig for it more than for hid treasures, &c. For my sighing cometh before I eat, and my roarings are poured out like*

like waters, Job 3. 20, 24. But he always concluded with submission to the good pleasure of God. When he had been asked how he did? this was frequently his answer, *The Bush always burning, but not consumed; and though my pains be above the strength of nature, yet they are not above the supports of Grace.*

4. The Lord was pleased to vouchsafe him such a measure of the Spirit of Grace and Supplications, that his soul was never out of tune for that service. Most of his words when he was under torment, were holy complaints and prayers to God. It will not be impertinent or unprofitable, if I here set down some of them.

His Spirit of Prayer.

O my God help! Father of mercies pity! Do not contend for ever! Consider my frame that I am but dust! My God that hath made Heaven and earth, help me! Oh, give me patience, and inflict what thou wilt! If my patience was more, my pain would be less. Dear Saviour, where are thy bowels? why dost thou make me an astonishment to my self and others? Why dost thou cover thy self with a thick cloud, that our prayers cannot pass? Blessed is the man that endureth temptation. Lord this is a sad temptation, stand by me, and say, It is enough! Am I not thy servant? Consider Lord that I am thy servant. O these bitter waters of Marah! Lord drop sweet comfort into these bitter waters of Marah. O the blood of sprinkling, Lord, the blood of sprinkling Lord! That blood which extinguisheth the fire of thine anger; O that it might allay my burning pains! I am in a fiery Furnace: Lord be with me as thou wast with the three Children, and bring me out refined from sin: when I have sailed through the Ocean of these pains, and look back; I

see that none of them can be wanting. I flye unto thee, O God; hide me under the shadow of thy wings till these terrible storms be overpast.

His Humility,

5. God added Humility as a Crown to all his other Graces, which yet shone bright in the eyes of all that were acquainted with him : Indeed he was *cloathed with Humility* : And hence it was that he would converse so familiarly with the poorest Christians, and with them who were of the lowest parts for knowledge, even with babes in Christ. This his ordinary expression of himself before God, did clearly demonstrate his great humility, *Poor worm ! Sinful wretch ! O pardon my transgressions for they are very great.* Hereupon he would weep much, when he was told how much he was prayed for, wondring at Gods goodness, that so sinful a wretch, and worthless a creature should have so much interest in the hearts, and prayers of the people of God. And his language in his *Will* speaks how little he was in his own eyes; the words are these, *I desire that at my Funeral there may be no pomp; but that so poor a worthless wretch may be privately laid in the ground.*

His Comforts
Faith and Joy.

And as his Graces were many, so were his Comforts many, and great, which God vouchsafed as singular manifestations of his love to this his dear Servant, and Childe. O what Kisses of Christs Mouth, and what imbraces from the Arms of his Love were bestowed upon this Saint of the most High ? He enjoyed all along his afflicted condition, an uninterrupted assurance of Gods Fatherly love in Christ. In his addrestes unto God, he constantly claimed propriety in God, calling him, *my God, and my Father.*

Father. His inward peace, and joy were the support of his heart under all his grievous, and grinding pains. he was confident of mercies mixtures with all his greatest distempers, not at all doubting of the sanctification of them to him through Grace. Thus he spake many times in his applications unto God, *Consider, and save me, for I am thine. How long, how long Lord, shall I not be remembered? yea, I am remembered, blessed be thy Name. This is a fiery Chariot, but it will carry me to Heaven: Blessed be God that hath supported me hitherto; and he that hath delivered, will yet deliver. Thou Lord never forgettest them that put their trust in thee.* Always when the extremity of pain was over, he would with smiles speak of Gods mercies. Though trembling took hold upon him when his violent pains began, yet would he with confidence say, *Now in the strength of the mighty God, I will undergo these pains: O my God put under thine everlasting Arms, and strengthen me.* Many times he told a bosome friend of his, that notwithstanding all his rentings and roarings (from which he expected no deliverance but by death) he would not for a thousand worlds change estates with the greatest man on earth, whom he looked upon as in a way of sin, and enthralled thereto. And this much bespeaks Gods Fatherly indulgence towards him, that Satan could never shake his confidence, nor assault his hopes all the time of his irksome, irksome distemper. And this was further very remarkable, that he counted all these inward cheerings, the fruits of Prayers that were made for him, though God saw cause to deny that ease, and recovery to his body which was so much begged; and withall,

he valued those spiritual cordials, and refreshings far beyond deliverance from the Gout, and the Stone, yea and Death it self.

These things are the rather mentioned, to prevent that discouragement, or offence which some may be too apt to take at the violence, and continuance of his wasting and tormenting pains, notwithstanding his own godliness, and the uncessant prayers, both ordinary and extraordinary, which were made unto God in his behalf, for he found the sweet fruits of them in his own bosome, even when he felt the continuance, and increase of his bodily grief.

His love to the
Saints.

Another thing very remarkable in holy Mr. *Whitaker*, was his love to his fellow Christians, he was a man made up (as it were) of love. His delight was in the Saints upon earth whom he esteemed most excellent, and their society was a constant cordial to his spirit. His frequent visits of them that were in trouble, and his stirring up of others to the like practice, were testimonies of this his cordial love; which indeed was not verbal, but real. He was also abundant in works of charity, few men of his estate did equalize him therein. He would often say, *It is a brave thing when a man together with a full estate, hath a charitable heart.* Sometimes upon special occasions he hath given away all the money that he had in the house. It was not unusual with him to give twenty shillings to a poor Saint, and he had many experiences of Gods gracious returns in such cases. By his last *Will* he gave twenty pounds to the godly poor of his own Parish.

His Charity.

Hi. Sympathy

There were two Cases wherein his loves were most
en-

enlarged to the people of God, whereof you may take these two Instances; The one when the sufferings were publick. He often told an intimate friend of his, that *Englands* late breach with *Scotland*, and the blood that was shed, together with other sad consequences thereof, had taken such impressi^on upon his heart, that the sorrow would never be removed till his death; and the sufferings both in *Holland* and in *England* in our late Sea-fights were an heavy burden upon his spirit. The other Case was in respect to the inward perplexity of such as were afflicted in minde; having moved a special friend of his the week before his death, to bestow a visit upon one in that condition, the very morning before his death (when speech was grievous to him in respect of his great weakness) he asked him whether he had remembered the party that was troubled in spirit? which was a remarkable evidence of his strong love to such. And besides what hath already been mentioned, I might here set down his many wrestlings with God to prevent the flood of troubles which he apprehended the Protestant Churches were now in danger to be overflowed withall; as also his compassionate respect to Congregations in the Country, which were like sheep wandering upon the barren mountains without a Shepherd.

And as his love shewed forth to the Saints, so was theirs no less towards him: Not to speak of the many frequent, and friendly visits of godly men and women in the Neighbourhood round about him; there was scarce ever heard of any man that was so much prayed for both in publick and in private, both upon ordinary

He was much beloved.

inary and extraordinary occasions, as he was. There was no particular case so frequently, so affectionately spread before God in most of the Congregations about *London* as his. Three dayes were set apart by Ministers, and many other praying friends to seek God in his behalf, one in private, and two in publick, which also were observed much better than such dayes usually have been of late; yea, in remote Countries, besides the ordinary Prayers made for him, there were some Fasts kept also with special reference to his afflictions. The multitude of people that came to his Funeral, with the many weeping eyes, did clearly shew how much he was beloved. Here might also be remembred the readines of the *London* Ministers to supply his place at home, and his Lectures elsewhere, as also the willingness of his Fellow-lecturers at *Westminster* to preach for him there, when he himself by reason of weakness could not possibly do his own work, but its needless, for still every where upon the naming of Mr. *Whitaker*, love is some way discovered by such as had any knowledge of him.

His delight in
Preaching.

Whilst he was able, he never neglected his Ministerial service; he hath often gone upon Crutches unto the Congregation of his own people, to fulfil his Ministry; yea, once at least he adventured to preach at *Michaels Cornhil*, when he was scarce able to get into the Pulpit, and his Friends with much difficulty holp him out of the Church homeward's; and at other times when his legs would not serve him, he used to ride to Church. And when he was by extremity of pains taken off from his Ministry, he would sometimes profess to some special friends, that the pain felt was not so grie-

vous

vous to his spirit, as his inability, by reason thereof, to mannage his wonted work : Indeed it was his meat and drink, to be doing the will of his Heavenly Father. Many times these were his words, *If I could but preach, I should be much better* ; and he would rejoyce with cheerfulness and thankfulness, when in the times of his weakness he found not himself more distempered by his preaching, and would mention such experiences, as arguments to move, and induce his friends to yeeld to his preaching when they dissuaded him from it as prejudicial to his health.

Anno Christi 1654, about the beginning of November, the violent pain of the Stone, did in such a manner and measure arrest him, that from that time he continued Gods prisoner, confined to his bed or chamber, till he was set free by a long expected, and much desired death. Most *Physicians* in the City were consulted with, and were from time to time very ready to serve him with their advice, who did unanimously conclude, that his sharp pains proceeded originally from an Ulcer in the Kidnies, but immediately from, an ulcer in the neck of the B'adder, caused by a continual flux of ulcerous matter dropping down upon that part ; and by reason of the acuteness and quickness of the sense there, his pains were almost continually in that place, though the fountain of them was from the Kidnies.

His Sickness.

About two moneths before his Death, his pains grew more extream, yet Divine indulgence vouchsafed at some times some mitigation of them, and intermission both in the night and day : But notwithstanding the long continuance and extremity of them nei-

ther his Faith nor Patience did abate, yea they much encreased, and grew higher, and as he grew nearer his end, so his longings for death were much increased, yet accompanied with holy submission to the good pleasure of his gracious Father.

His holy Speeches.

These were some of his expressions, *O my God break open the Prison door, and set my poor captive soul free: But enable me willingly to wait thy time! I desire to be dissolved: never aid any man more desire life, than I do Death! When will that time come, that I shall neither sin more, nor sorrow more? When shall mortality put on immortality? When shall this earthly Tabernacle be dissolved, that I may be clothed upon with that House which is from Heaven? Blessed are the dead which dye in the Lord, for they rest from their labours, and follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth.*

So great was his love to his God and Saviour, that he maintained and expressed high estimations, and honourable thoughts of his Majesty, when he was under the most tormenting providences: He feared nothing more, than lest he should do or speak any thing that should redound to the dishonour of his Name. These were some breathings of his large love, when through pain he was as in the fire, or upon the rack: *Good Lord keep me from dishonouring of thy Name by impatience! Oh, who would not even in burnings have honourable thoughts of God! who that knows thee, would not fear thee, O Lord, love thee, and honour thee? Lord, thou givest me no occasion to have any hard thoughts of thee! Blessed be God, there is nothing of Hell in all this! Blessed be his Name for Jesus Christ, and the Revelation of the everlasting Gospel! Who knows the power of thy wrath?*

If

If it be so heavy upon thy servant here, how heavy shall it be to all those who shall endure it without mixture? Blessed be God for the peace of mine inward man, when my outward man is full of trouble! This is a bitter Cup, but it is of my Fathers mixture, and shall I not drink it? yea Lord, through thy strength I will: This is my burthen, and I will bear it.

Upon any abatements of his excruciating pains, he was constantly much in blessing God, using these, and such like expressions: *O! what a mercy is it that there is any mitigation, any intermission! Lord make me thankful.* And turning himself towards those that stood by, he would bespeak them thus; *O help me to be thankful! O lift up a Prayer for me that I may be thankful! O what a mercy is this! How much worse might this affliction have been! I might have been distracted, or laid roaring under disquietness of spirit:* By these, and many such like expressions and workings of his spirit, who perceiveth not the sparklings of his love to God? And to a dear friend he often said, *Brother, through mercy I have not one repining thought against God.*

The Sabbath sevensight before God released him, though his pains were very sharp, yet he bestowed most part of the time of publick Ordinances, in prayer, together with those that were about him, and his Petitions were most in the behalf of Ministers, that God would cloath his Ordinances with his own power, and enable his Ministers to speak to the souls of his people. Then did he also with many tears bewail his detainment from the Sanctuary, and Sabbath-opportunities of doing, and receiving good, which had been

his delight : Professing also, that his being taken off from service, was a greater affliction to him than all his bodily pains. And because this apprehension (to wit, of his present unserviceableness) did much afflict him; this therefore was often suggested to him (which the Lord pleased to make a relief to his spirit) *viz.* that now by the practice of Faith, Patience, Contentment, and spiritualness (which he had formerly preached to, and pressed upon others) he was very profitable unto them who visited him, and might also prove very advantageous unto others who might be acquainted therewith, through Gods grace by Christ.

His torment-
ing pains.

So great was his tender respect to his friends, that when his pains were coming with violence, he would intreat them to withdraw from him, that they might not be grieved with his roarings; and he used often to bless God, that his compassionate friends were not necessitated to abide within the reach of his doleful lamentation.

As his death drew more nigh, so his fits of pain were more frequent, either every half hour, or many times every quarter, yea two or three in a quarter of an hour, which did exceedingly abate his strength.

The night before God took him out of this vale of tears, Mr. *Ash* hearing that he was not likely to live another day, went early in the morning to take his leave of him, whom his soul loved, at which time he found his bodily strength much decayed; and perceiving that he could not speak without much difficulty, Mr. *Ash* spake the more unto him in reference to the approach of his happy hoped for change, and his discourse (through Gods mercy) was very refreshing to

his spirit. He told him also that many of his friends intended to set apart that day in seeking the Lord for him, and asked him, in what things especially he desired to be remembered before the Throne of Grace? His answer was, *Do not complain, but bless God for me, and intreat him to open the prison door.* Then Mr. *Whitaker* laying his hand upon his cold hand, covered with a clammy sweat, took his last farewell of him with an aching heart; and upon his departure from him, the last words which Mr. *Whitaker* spake to him were these; *Brother, I thank you, I pray God bless you, and I bless God for you.*

That day was spent in addresses to God for him at *Peters Cornhill*, where Mr. *Newcomen* quickned and guided our prayers in his Sermon upon *Job. 11. 2.* *Lord, Behold he whom thou lovest is sick; and Mr. Fenkin* endeavoured to moderate, and regulate our sorrows from *Luke 23. 28. Weep not for me.*

Thus his friends having by prayers and praises (on his behalf) given him to God, and having prepared their hearts for the loss of him, the Lord was pleased that evening to take him to himself, *June 1654*, being above Fifty five years old.

His Death.

After his death Mr. *Holiard* opened his body in the presence of Dr. *Cox*, Dr. *Micklethwaite*, and Dr. *Bevoir*, (some other more ancient Doctors would have been there, if, either their being out of Town, or present urgent occasions had not hindered) being opened, they found both his Kidnies full of ulcers, and and one of them was swelled to an extraordinary bigness through the abundance of purulent matter in it. Upon the neck of his Bladder, they found a stone, (which was about an inch and an half long, and one

inch broad, weighing about two ounces when it was first taken out; and withall they found an ulcer which was gangrenized, and this was judged to be the cause of his death. All other parts of his body were found firm and sound.

He was so humble, that he feared lest Gods people praying for him, should speak too well of him before the Lord.

He was a self-denying man, never daring to look after great matters in this world; whereby he condemned many whose self-seeking in earthly advantages, renders them very offensive and unfavoury in the Church of Christ.

“*M. Calamy* speaking of him saith; If I should
 “enter upon his Commemulations, I might truly say
 “what *Nazanien* doth of his Sister *Gorgonia*, that I
 “have more cause to fear lest I should speak below,
 “than above the truth: For he was a burning and a
 “shining light in this our *Israel*: A Messenger, and
 “an Interpreter one amongst a thousand: A *Basil* el
 “in Gods Tabernacle: A true *Nathaniel* that by his
 “integrity, humility, constancy, charity, publickness,
 “and peaceableness of spirit, and by his diligence and
 “faithfulness in preaching the Gospel, made his life
 “both amiable and desirable. I will say of him, as it was
 “said of *Athanasius*, that he was *Adamas & Martyr*, an
 “Adamant, and a Loadstone. To all that conversed
 “with him, he was as a Loadstone to draw their hearts
 “to love him: But in the cause of God, and in reference
 “to the truths of Christ, he was as an unconquerable
 “Adamant. He was a *Jeremy*, both in mourning for,
 “and in witnessing against the sins of the times. He
 “was

" was a second *Whitaker*, though not so eminent in
 " Learning as to be (what is said of him) *Nandi mi-*
 " *raculum, Academia Oraculum*, the miracle of the
 " world, and the Oracle of the University; yet he
 " was (which is also said of him) sound in the Faith;
 " one that had no private opinion, that did not *in vete-*
 " *ri via novam semitam querere*, seek out new paths of
 " his own, but kept the old way, and the old path: That
 " had a great wit without any mixture of madness.

" He preached no less by the heavenliness of his Do-
 " ctrine than by the holiness of his life, yea, he preached
 " as effectually by his death, as by his life or Doctrine,
 " for so great was the patience which God measured
 " out to him, that though in his extremity of torments
 " he groaned, yet he never grumbled. Though he
 " often mourned, yet he never murmured; nay, though
 " he often roared by reason of the greatness of his
 " pain, yet he always justified and magnified God
 " therein; and this he did so constantly, and in such
 " a measure, that as it is said of *Job*, so it will be said
 " by the Saints that succeed us, for their mutual con-
 " solation, and encouragement, Ye have heard of the
 " Patience of *Whitaker*: He had indeed an ulcerated
 " flesh, but a sound and whole spirit, and that enabled
 " him to bear his infirmity: he had a stone in the Bladder;
 " but a very soft and tender heart: he had a gangrene
 " in his body, but a sound soul, unstained by sin. I
 " heard him often say with thankfulness, that under
 " all his bodily sufferings, he had a blessed calmness,
 " and quietness in his spirit, that God spake peace un-
 " to him; that though he roared for pain, yet the
 " Devil was chained up from roaring upon him.

On

On the Death of my dear Friend,
Mr. FEREMIAH WHITAKER.

IF Death be but a servant sent to call
The souls of Saints to their Originall :
Dear Saint, thine was a Noble soul, to whom
Three Messengers were sent to call thee home ;
A Stone, an Ulcer, and a Cancreene too,
Three Deaths to hasten that which one should do.
' I was not because thy soul was deeper set
Than ours, within its house of clay, nor yet
Because thou wert unwilling to depart
Thither, where long before had been thine heart :
They were not sent to hale by violence
A soul that lingred when 'twas called hence.
God shew'd how welcome one Death was to thee,
Who did so meekly entertain all three.
Thus many Deaths Gods Israel did inclose,
The Sea before, behinde a Sea of Foes;
On either side the jaws of Mountains high,
No way from Death, but unto Death to flye.
Not to destroy them, but to let them see
The power of love, which then would set them free.
Thus Jobs four Messengers which did relate
The doleful story of his ruin'd state :
And his three Friends which acted Satans part
(He on his flesh, and these upon his heart)
Who by disputing him unto a curse
Would make his spirits torments the far worse,
Were by Gods wise disposal sent to show
The strength he on his Champion wou'd bestow.

Thus

Thus Painters put dark grounds where they intend
To overlay with finest gold, and lend
By deeper shadows lustre to that face,
On which they mean their choisest skill to place.
Thus workmen season much with Sun and wind
Those greatest beams which must the building binde,
Whilst smaller pieces haply are put in
When they come bleeding from the wood, and green.
Oft where is greatest grace, God's pleas'd to send
Great conflicts those great Graces to commend.
As the six-fingred Giants sword did bring
The more renown to little Davids sling.
The vanquisht Lion, and the conquered Bear
Prepar'd that holy Head a Crown to wear.
The Angel wrestled first, and then did bless
And made the greater servant to the less.
Pain was too great for thee, Gods grace for pain,
And made the greater serve the less again.
Thy pains serv'd thee for glory, and did fit
The Head on which a Crown of life must sit.
This is Gods method to fetch joy from grief,
To turn our sorrows unto our relief,
To save by killing, and to bring to shore
By the ships planks which was quite broke before.
And thus a barren womb first took the seed
Which did six hundred thousand people breed.
That seed too must from knife and Altar rise,
And be before a fire a Sacrifice.
Great Preacher of thy Heavenly Fathers will
Thy tongue did many ears with Manna fill.
Thy life out-preach't thy tongue, O blessed strife!
Thy sickness the best Sermon of thy life.

Before each Doctrine must be prov'd a new,
 Thine end was one great proof that all was true.
 Before thou preach't by weeks, but now by hours,
 Each minute taught thy mourning Auditors,
 Each patient groan, and each believing eye
 Was a new Sermon in Brachygraphy.
 When Nature roars without repining words,
 Grace in the mouth when in the Bowels swords,
 In midst of torments to triumph o're Hell,
 To feel Gods Arrows, yet his Praises tell.
 Through thickest clouds to see the brightest light
 In blackest darkness to have clearest sight,
 And with our Lord to cry, My God, My God,
 Upon a Cross under the sharpest Rod.
 This is indeed to preach, this is to show
 Faiths triumph over Natures greatest wo.
 Then welcome fiery Serpents, scorching sting,
 Which did thee thus to th' Brazen Serpent bring.
 Then welcome Whale, which though it first devour,
 Renders at last the Prophet to the shore.
 Well might'st thou bear the stone which Death did throw,
 Who had'st the white Stone the new Name to show :
 Well might'st thou be with such an ulcer calm
 Whose soul was heal'd before with Heavens Balm.
 When Spirits wounds are cur'd though Nature groan,
 An heart of flesh can heat a back of stone :
 Let conscience have her feast, and let flesh roar,
 'Tis pain shall make the others joy the more,
 As many times those Flowers most fragrant smell
 Which nearest to some noysome weeds do dwell.
 Thus have you seen the Forge most clearly glow,
 On which the Smith dash drops of water throw.

*Keen Frosts make fire the hotter, and deep night
 Causeth Celestial Lamps to shine more bright.
 And by a dear Antiperistasis,
 The Childs distress sweetens the Fathers kiss.
 A wounded body yeelds to a sound soul,
 The joyes of this do th' others pains controule.
 As in the day that the Sun beams appear
 All other lesser Stars do disappear.
 When Heaven shines, and Divine love doth reign,
 The soul is not at leasure to complain.
 Internal joyes his heart so well composes,
 That they have judg'd their flames a bed of Roses.*

Mr. Gataker, Mr. Whitaker.

*But what shall England do from whence are lopt,
 Two if her richest Acres to Heaven dropt.
 By loss of these two Acres she's more poor,
 Then if sh' had lost an hundred Lordships more.
 'Twere a good purchase to gain these agen,
 By giving to the Sea all Lincoln Fen.
 Two little Mines of Gold do far surpass
 Huge Mannors where th' whole vesture is but grass.
 Learn we by them what all men will once say,
 One Pearch of Heaven, 's worth the whole Globe of clay.*

ED. REYNOLDS

D. D.

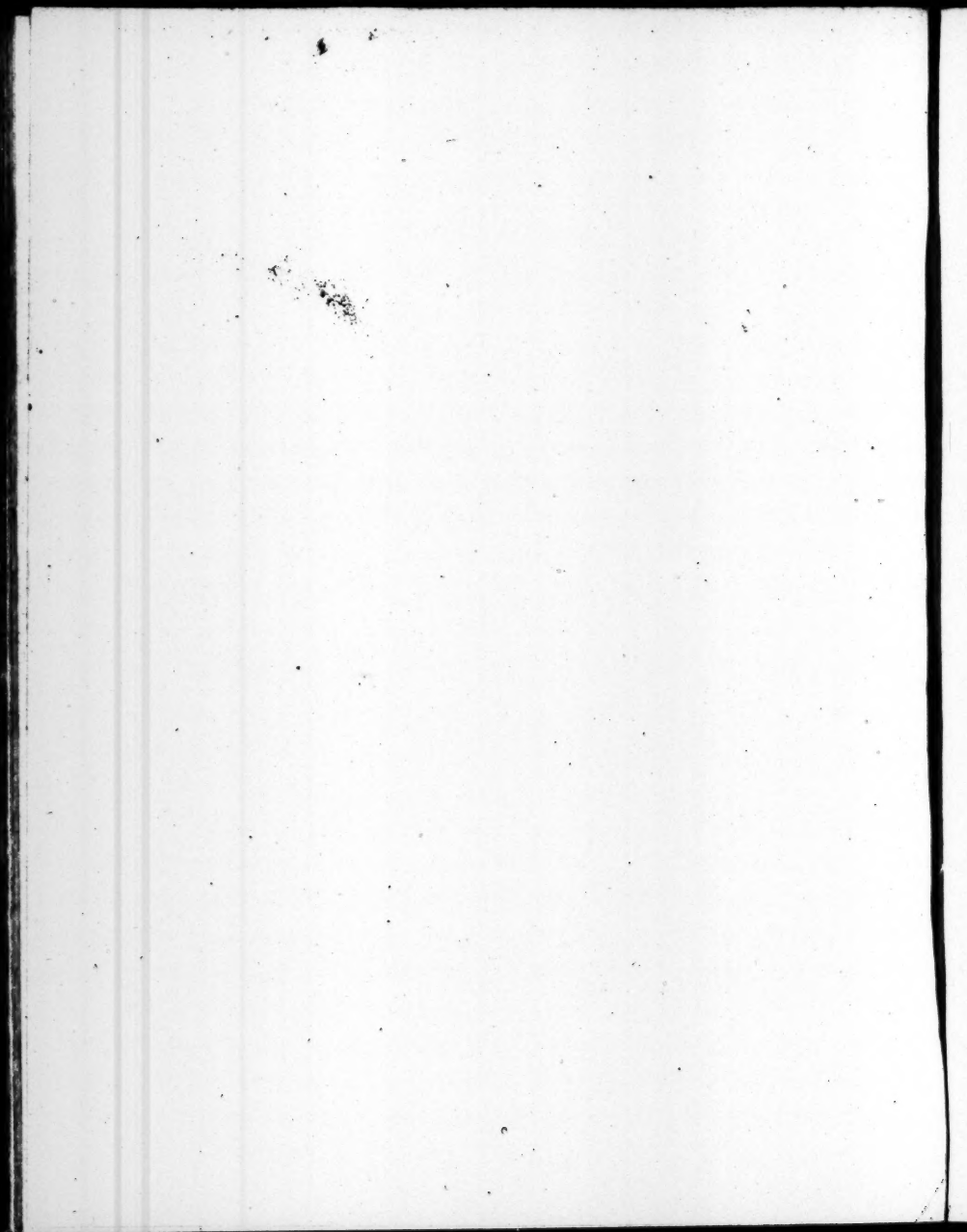
The Life and Death of *James*
Usher, Dr. of Divinity, Arch-
 Bishop of *Armagh*, Primate,
 and Metropolitan of all *Ire-*
land, who dyed *Anno Christi*
 1655.

Alexander the Great commanded that no man should draw his Picture but *Apelles*, the most exquisite Painter in the world; and that his Statue should not be made in brass by any one but *Lysippus*, the most excellent Work-man in that kinde: So truly, the Life and Death of this great and good man is fit to be written only by the ablest Pen that can be found.

Reverend, and Learned Dr. *Bernard*, who was of my ancient acquaintance above forty years ago in *Emanuel* College in *Cambridge* hath written his Life and Death excellent well. Yet as there can never too much be spoken, or written of him, whom all the Christian world did admire for his Religion and Learning, so give me leave out of him, with some other helps to set him forth, though not to the life in his native colours as he deserveth, yet according to my ability, that his Name may be enrolled amongst those many other Worthies, both antient and Modern, men famous in their Generations, *burning and shining*
Lights



DR JAMES USHER.



Lights in the Church, and very instrumental to Gods glory, which I have formerly, and now also collected and published.

James Usher was born in *Dublin*, the *Metropolis* of *Ireland*, in the Parish of *St. Nicholas*, *January* the 4, *Anno Christi* 1580. His Father, *Mr. Arnald Usher*, was a student in the Law, one of the Clerks of the Chancery in that Nation, and a person of excellent parts and endowments. His Mother was *Mrs. Margaret Stainhurst*, who in her later time was seduced by some of the *Popish* Priests to the *Roman* Religion, they taking their opportunity, whilst this her Son was upon some occasion in *England*; and they, by their subtilty, had engaged her in such vows, that when her Son came back he could not possibly reclaim her, which they have often boasted of in Print; yet her Sons hope was, at least upon her Death bed, to have prevailed for the reducing of her to the Truth: But it pleased God, that she dyed suddenly at *Drogheda*, when he was absent at *Dublin*, whereby, to his no small grief those his hopes were frustrated and disappointed.

His Birth and
Parenage.

His Grandfather by his Mothers side was *James Stainhurst* (whose Christian name he bore) who was chosen three times Speaker of the House of Commons in the *Irish* Parliaments, in the last whereof he made the first motion for the founding and erecting of a College, and University in the City of *Dublin*. He was also Recorder of that City, one of the Masters of the Chancery, and a man of great wisdom, and integrity.

His Uncle was *Richard Stainhurst*, a man famous in *France*, and other Nations for his great learning,

which he manifested in several Books published by him, one of them, when he was eighteen years old, between whom, and this Reverend person there passed many learned Letters.

His Uncle by his Fathers side was *Henry Usher*, who was trained up at *Cambridge*, and proved a prudent and learned man: He was afterwards Arch-Deacon of *Dublin*, at which time he was first sent over into *England* to *Queen Elizabeth*, and the Council, with a Petition for preserving the Cathedral of *St. Patricks Dublin* from being dissolved, wherein he prevailed, the fruits whereof this his Nephew reaped afterwards, being made Chancellor of it, and receiving his subsistence from it for many years. The second time he was sent over by the Council of *Ireland* to *Queen Elizabeth* to procure her Patent for the founding of a College, and University in *Dublin*, wherein he prevailed also: So that the College (of which this worthy person was the first fruits) had its being from his Grandfathers motion, and his Uncles industry.

He had a brother named *Ambrose Usher*, who, though he dyed young, yet was a man of excellent parts, very skilful in the *Oriental Languages*, who had translated the Old Testament from the beginning, to the Book of *Job*, out of the *Hebrew* into *English*, which is still preserved under his own hand; but upon the coming forth of the New Translation in King *James* his time, he desisted from making any further progress therein.

Our *James* was taught first to read by two of his Aunts, who were blinde from their Cradles, and so never

The College
at *Dublin*
founded.

His Education

never saw letters, yet were they admirably versed in the sacred Scriptures, being able suddenly to have given a good account of any part of the Bible. At eight years old he was sent to the *Grammar School*; where he had the happiness to meet with two excellent Schoolmasters, Sir *James Fullerton*, afterwards Leger Ambassador in *France*, and Sir *James Hamilton* (afterwards Lord Viscount *Clandeboise*) who was Usher of the School. These two learned men were sent over by King *James* out of *Scotland* upon an other design, though they were disguised in this imployment: And indeed they came very opportunely by the good hand of Gods Providence, for this youths founding in learning, at such a time when there was a great defect of learned Schoolmasters, which he often acknowledged as a special mercy of God to him therein.

A special Providence.

At ten years old was the first time that he could remember to have found in himself any evidences of his saving conversion unto God, which was instrumentally wrought by a Sermon which he heard preached upon *Rom. 12. 1. I beseech you brethren by the mercies of God, &c.* About the same time also meeting with some notes taken from famous Mr. *Perkins* his Works being not then printed) concerning the sanctification of the Lords day, proved, through Gods blessing, so effectual with him, that ever after he was the more strict in the observing of it. About the same time also he read over *St. Augustines Meditations*, which so affected him, that he wept often in the reading of them.

His timely Conversion.

This young, yet hopeful plant, thus inuring, and accustoming himself to secret duties in his tender years,

Satans malice.

Prayer power-
full.

years, the Devil, that grand enemy of our salvation, thinking to nip him in the bud, assaulted him with divers terrours and affrightments, both sleeping and waking, hoping thereby to discourage, and take him off from the same: But he (with *St. Paul*) betook himself to prayer with earnestness to be delivered from these Satanical delusions, and assaults, and at last was *heard in that which he feared*, by being freed from them, and strengthened against them with more than ordinary courage, and comfort; which made such an impression in him, as that he could not forget it to his old age.

Satans subtilty

The Devil now finding that he could not be affrighted out of his course of godliness, made use of another engine, which was to allure him with the bait of pleasure, some of his friends teaching him to play at Cards, wherewith he was so much delighted, that it began to prevail over his love to his book; yea it came in competition with his love to God, and care to serve him; which being seasonably by Gods Spirit discovered to him, he presently gave it over, and never played afterwards.

Gods mercy.

At twelve years old he was so affected with the study of *Chronology* and *Antiquity*, that, reading over *Sleidans* Book of the four Empires, and some other Authors, he drew forth an exact *Series* of the times wherein each eminent person lived; and during the time of his abode at School, which was five years, he was thoroughly instructed in *Grammar*, *Rhetorick*, and *Poetry*, wherein he so excelled, and with which he was so delighted, that he was fain to take himself off, lest it should have hindred him from more serious studies.

At thirteen years of age he was admitted into the College of *Dublin*, being the first Student that was initiated into it; and as it seems, it was so ordered upon design by the Governours thereof, upon their observation of his pregnancy, and rare parts, that it might be a future honour to the College to have his name recorded in the *Frontispiece* of their *Admission Book*, and so accordingly he was the first Graduate, the first Fellow, the first Proctor, &c.

His admission
into the Col-
lege.

At the same time Sir *James Hamilton*, hitherto Usher of the School, was chosen Fellow of the College, and thereby became his Tutor, who oft-times admired his accuteness and proficiency, whereby in a short time he equalized his Instructors. Here he first began to study the *Greek* and *Hebrew* Languages, in both which he afterwards excelled, and made himself in a little time Master of the Arts, most of which he modelled in a method of his own, especially that of *Musick*.

His great pro-
ficiency.

At this time the education, and helps which that College afforded were very eminent: For though at first there were but four Fellows, yet the Tongues and Arts were very exactly taught to all the Students who were divided into several Classes. Each Tutor read *Aristotles* Text in *Greek* to his Pupils; yea each Fellow read three Lectures a day, at each of which there was a Disputation maintained either upon the present, or the precedent Lecture, and sometimes they were ordered to dispute *More Socratico*.

On *Saturdays* in the afternoon each Tutor read a Divinity Lecture in *Latine* to his Pupils, dictating it (as they did all other their Lectures) so deliberately,

His admission
to the Sacra-
ment.

His prepara-
tion thereto.

His skill in
Chronology.

that they might easily write after them, to their great benefit and advantage.

At fourteen years old he was judged fit, and admitted to the Sacrament of the Lords Supper; and his usual custome was, the afternoon before, to retire himself in private, and to spend it in a strict self-examination, and deep humiliation for all his sins; wherein he had such enlargements of heart, that a stream of tears flowed from his eyes, which afterwards he oft recalled to minde; both as a provocation, and censure of himself: When he was of elder years, there was a certain place by a water side whither he oft resorted, sorrowfully to survey his sins, and with floods of tears to confesse, and bewail them; wherein he found so much sweetness and communion with God, that he thirsted for such comfortable opportunities, and it was his usual custome to spend *Saturdayes* in the afternoon in these duties. Amongst other sins he much bewayled his too much love to humane learning, which made him as glad when *Munday* came that he might renew his studies, as he was when *Sabbath* day came, wherein he was to apply himself to the service of God; and it cost him many tears that he could not be more heavenly-minded at that age.

At fifteen years old he had made such a progress in the study of *Chronology*, that he drew up in *Latine* an exact *Chronicle* of the Bible as far as to the Books of the *Kings*, which did not much differ from that of his late *Annals*, excepting his enlargements by some exquisite observations, and the *Synchronismes* of Heathen story. About this time also he was much afflicted with a strong temptation, which moved him to question Gods love

love to him, because he was so free from afflictions, which was occasioned by some inconsiderate passages which he met with in some Authors, and long was he under some trouble before he could get rid of it.

Before he was Bachelor of Arts he read *Stapletons Fortrefs of the Faith*, and therein finding how confidently he asserted Antiquity for the *Popish* Tenets, withall, branding our Church and Religion with novelty in what we dissented from them, he was much troubled at it, not knowing but that his quotations might be right; and he was convinced that the Ancientest must needs be best, as the nearer the Fountain the sweeter, and clearer are the streams; yet withall, he suspected that *Stapleton* might mis-report the Fathers, or wrest them to his own sense; and therefore he took up a settled resolution, that in due time, if God prolonged his life and health, he would trust only his own eyes by reading over all the Fathers for his satisfaction herein; which work he afterward began at Twenty years old, and finished that vast labour at Thirty eight, strictly tying himself to a certain portion every day what occasions soever intervened.

His study of
the Fathers.

Whilst he was Batchelor of Arts, he read divers of the Works of the Fathers, and most Authors which had written the Body of Divinity both *Positively* and *Polemically* in confuting the *Popish* errors, and had read many of their Authors also, by which means he was so well acquainted with the state of those controversies, that he was able to dispute with any of the *Popish* Priests, as he often did with the principal of them.

Anno Christi 1598, The Earle of *Essex* newly coming over Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and being chosen Chancellor of the University of *Dublin*, there was a solemn Act appointed for his entertainment, and Mr. *Usher* being then Batchelor of Arts, answered the *Philosophy* Act with great applause and approbation.

He is design'd
to the study of
the Law.

About this time his Fathers intention was to send him over into *England* to the *Innes* of Court, for the study of the Common Law, which was a great trouble to him, yer in obedience to his Fathers will he assented, and resolved upon it; but it pleased God that his Father shortly after dyed, *viz. August* the 12. *Anno Christi* 1698, so that then he being at liberty to make choice of his studies, devoted, and applied himself wholly to Divinity, and thereupon was chosen Fellow of the College, being before incapable of taking the Oath which was required of all Fellows at their Admission, *viz.* that the present intent of their studies should be for the Profession of Divinity, unless God should afterwards otherwise dispose their mindes.

His study of
Divinity.

His contempt
of the world.

And here again was an other occasion of disturbance to his mind ministr'd to him. For his Father left him a good estate in land; but finding that he must have involved himself in many Suits of Law before he could attain to the quiet enjoyment of it, to the interrupting of his other studies, he gave up the benefit of it to his brothers and sisters, suffering his Uncle to take Letters of Administration for that end, resolving to cast himself upon the good Providence of God, to whose service in the work of the Ministry he

he had wholly devoted himself, not doubting but he would provide for him; yet that he might not be judged weak or inconsiderate in that Act, he drew up a note under his hand of the state of all things that concerned it, and directions what to doe about it.

When he was nineteen years old he disputed with *Henry Fitz-Simonds*, a *Jesuit*, in the Castle of *Dublin*, as himself acknowledgeth in his Preface to his Book called *Britanno-mochia Ministrorum*; the occasion of which Dispute was this, The *Jesuit* by way of challenge, as it was interpreted, gave forth these words, *That he being a Prisoner was like a Bear tyed to a stake, but wanted some to bait him*: Whereupon this eminent man (for so he was though very young) was thought fit, and able to encounter him, though at their first meeting he despised his youth, as *Goliath* did *David*. Mr. *Usher* proffered to dispute with him about all *Bellarmines* Controversies, for which a meeting was appointed once every week, and it fell out that the first subject proposed was *De Antichristo*, about which they had two or three solempne Disputations, and Mr. *Usher* was ready to have proceeded further; but the *Jesuit* was weary of it, yet gives him a tolerable commendation, and much admired his abilities in such young years: concerning which he saith; *There came once to me a youth of about eighteen years of age, one of a too soon ripe wit, scarce you would think that he could have gone through his course of Philosophy, or that he was got out of his childe-hood, yet was he ready to dispute upon the most abstruce points of Divinity.* And afterwards the same *Jesuit* living to understand more of him,

His Disputes
with a Jesuit.

He is Master
of Arts, and
Catechist.

saith, that he was *A catholicorum doctissimus*, the most learned of such as were not *Catholicks*; being (as it seems) unwilling, or ashamed to call him *Heretick*.

Anno Christi 1600, when he was about twenty years old he commenced Master of Arts, and answered the *Philosophy Act*, and was chosen *Catechist* of the College, in which office he went through a great part of the Body of Divinity in the Chappel by way of Common place; and Ministers being scarce at that time, there were three young men of the College chosen out, and appointed to preach in *Christ Church* before the State: One was Mr. *Richardson*, afterwards Bishop of *Ardab*, who was appointed to preach an Expository Lecture upon the Prophecie of *Isaiah* every *Friday*. Another was Mr. *Welch*, afterwards Dr. of Divinity, who was designed to handle the Body of Divinity on *Sabbaths* in the forenoon; the third was our learned *Usher*, who was to handle the controversies for the satisfaction of the *Papists* on the Lords dayes in the afternoons, which he did fully and cleerly, alwayes concluding with some emphatical Exhortation, that it tended much to the edification and confirmation of the *Protestants* in their Principles, as many of them in their elder yeares have acknowledged.

Having thus preached for a while as a Probationer, he refused to continue it any longer, having not as yet received Ordination: He also scrupled to be as yet Ordained by reason of his defect of years, the *Canons* requiring twenty four, and he being yet but twenty one: But by some grave and learned men he was told, that the Lord had need of his labours; and so upon their

their persuasions and importunity, his age being dispensed with according to some former presidents, he was ordained at the usual time, the *Sabbath* before *Christmas* day, *Anno 1601*, by his Uncle *Henry Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, with the assistance of some other Ministers.

His O.dina-
tion.

The first Text that he preached publicly upon before the State, after his Ordination, was *Rev. 3. 1. Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead*, which fell out to be the same day upon which was fought the Battel of *Kinsale*, which being a day specially set apart, by prayer to seek unto God for his blessing and assistance in that engagement, and being his first fruits after his entrance into the Office of the Ministry, God might in a more than ordinary manner make his labours efficacious and prevailing; the rest of that Epistle to the Church of *Sardis* he finished afterwards.

His first Ser-
mon after it.

It was well known that if the *Spaniards* had gotten the better that day, the *Irish Papists* had designed to murder the *English Protestants* both in *Dublin* and other places, but especially the Ministers. Hence (said he) *arose a tentation in me to have deferred my Ordination till the event of the Battel had been known, that so I might the better have escaped their fury; but I repelled that suggestion, and resolved the rather upon it, that dying a Minister, and in that quarrel, I might at least be the next door to a Martyr.*

Tentation re-
sisted,

The *Spaniards* being (as was said before) overthrown at *Kinsale*, and the hopes of the *Irish*, as to that design, being frustrated, they began generally to subject themselves to the Statute, which was now
put

put in execution, in their coming to Church; and that it might tend the more to their profit, the *Lord Lieutenant*, and his *Council*, desired the Ministers at *Dublin*, so to divide themselves, that (in imitation of what he had already begun at *Christ Church*) there might be a Sermon on the Lords dayes in the afternoon at every Church upon those Controversies. *St. Katherines* (a convenient Church) was assigned for *Mr. Usher*, who removed accordingly, and duely observed it; and his custome was, that what he had delivered in one Sermon, he drew it up into Questions and Answers, and the next Lords day, several persons of note voluntary offered themselves to repeat those Answers before the whole Congregation, which made them more clear and perspicuous to the *Papish* party.

A great Re-
formation.

It pleased God by his, and the labours of others of his Brethren in the Ministry, not only in *Dublin*, but in other parts of the Kingdome, that the *Papists* came so diligently to Church, that if they had any occasion to absent themselves, they used to send in their excuses to the *Church-wardens*, and there were great hopes in a short time to have reduced the whole Nation to *Protestantisme*. But on a sudden, the execution of the Statute was suspended, and the power of the *High Commission Court* (then erected, and used onely against the *Papists*) was taken away; whereupon the *Papists* presently withdrew themselves from the public Assemblies, the Ministry was discouraged, all good mens hearts were grieved, and *Poperie* from that time forward encreased, till like a great Deluge, it had overflowed the whole Nation.

Poperie en-
creaseth.

Upon

Upon this, the spirit of this holy man (like *Pauls* at *Athens*) was exceedingly stirred in him, inso-much as preaching before the State at *Christ Church* upon a special solemnity, he did with as much prudence, courage, and boldness as became his young years, give them his opinion of that *abominable Toleration of Idolatry*; making a full and clear application of that passage in *Ezekiels Vision*, Chap. 4. 6. where the Prophet, by lying on his side, was to bear the iniquity of *Judab* for forty days. *I have appointed thee (saith the Lord) each day for a year.* This (said he) by the consent of Interpreters, signifies the time of forty years to the destruction of *Jerusalem*, and of that Nation for their Idolatry; and so (said he) will I reckon from this year the sin of *Ireland*, and at the end of the time those whom you now embrace shall be your ruine, and you shall bear this iniquity, wherein he proved a Prophet: For this was delivered by him, *Anno Christi 1601*, and *Anno 1641*, was the *Irish Rebellion*, and Massacre; and what a continued expectation he had of a great judgement upon that his Native Country, I, saith *Dr. Bernard*, can witness from the year 1624, at which time I had the happiness first to be known to him; and the nearer the time approached, the more confident he was of the event, though as yet nothing that tended towards it was visible to other men.

The Body of Divinity which is printed in his name is highly commended by *Mr. Downam*, who set it forth, and so it is by a stranger, *Ludovicus Crocius*, who much desired that some *English* man would turn it into *Latine* for the benefit of forreign Churches, but

His Zeal.

A Prediction.

His Body of Divinity.

it was not intended by him for the Press. It was begun by him in publick, but finished some years after in private in his Family, constantly instructing them twice a week, unto which persons of quality and learning resorted, and divers of them took Notes, whereby several Copies were dispersed abroad, some imperfect and mistaken, and many passages are in it which were not his, neither is the whole so polished as his other Pieces which were published by himself; and indeed he was displeased that it came forth without his knowledge, yet understanding how much good it had done, he connived at it.

Souldiers fa-
vourers of
Learning.

Shortly after the aforementioned defeat given to the *Spaniards* at *Kinsale*, the Officers of our *English* Army gave 1800 pounds to buy Books for the College Library at *Dublin* (then Souldiers were advancers of Learning) the ordering of which was committed to Dr. *Challoner*, and this Lord *Primate*, who made a journey into *England* on purpose to buy Books with it. He then met with Sir *Thomas Bodly*, who was buying Books for his Library at *Oxford*; and they were very helpful each to other in procuring the rarest Pieces. In his journey he visited Mr. *Christopher Goodman*, who had been Professor of Divinity in *Oxford* in King *Edward* the sixths dayes, then lying on his death-bed at *Chester*, and he would often repeat some grave and wise speeches that he heard from him.

His great dili-
gence.

After this he constantly came over into *England* once in three years, spending one moneth at *Oxford*, another at *Cambridge*, in searching the Books, especially the Manuscripts, in each University (amongst which, those of *Corpus Christi* College in *Cambridge*,
he

he most esteemed) the third moneth he spent at *London*, intending chiefly Sir *Robert Cottons* Library, and conversing with learned men, amongst whom, even in those his younger years he was in great esteem. In his after-years he was acquainted with the rarities in other Nations: There was scarce a choice Book in any eminent persons Library in *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, or *Rome* it self, but he had his way to procure it, or what he desired, transcribed out of it, so that he was better acquainted with the *Popes Vatican* than some that daily visited it. The *Puteani fratres*, two learned men in *Paris* help him much with many Transcripts out of *Thnanus*, and others, between whom and him, many Letters passed. Now, though the reading of the Fathers all over was a vast work, yet the pains he took out of the common road of learning in searching of Records, and all the *Manuscripts* he could get throughout Christendome, together with the knotty study of *Chronology* and *Antiquity*, was equal with, if it did not exceed the other. Many Volumes he also read onely to attain to the knowledge of the use of words in several ages, as *Galen*, *Hipocrates*, &c. and most of the Records in the Tower of *London*: Besides there was scarce the meanest book in his own Library, but he remembred it, even to admiration, and had in his head readily whatsoever he had read.

His Correspondents.

The first Church-preferment which he had, was given him by Archbishop *Lofius* a little before his death, which was the Chancellorship of *St. Patricks Dublin*, unto which he took no other Benefice. In that place Mr. *Camden* found him when he was writing his *Britannia*, Anno Christi 1607, and in his observations

His first preferment.

His constant
preaching.

concerning *Dublin*, faith of him, *Most of these I acknowledge to owe to the diligence, and labours of James Usher, Chancellor of the Church of St. Patricks, who in various learning, and judgement far exceeds his years.* In this preferment, though the Law required not his preaching, but onely in his course before the State, yet would he not omit it in the place from whence he received his profits, and though he endowed it with a *Vicaridge*, yet went he thither in person, *viz. to Finglas* a mile from *Dublin*, and preached there every Lords day, unless he were detained upon some extraordinary occasions; and the remembrance that he had been a constant Preacher, was a greater comfort to him in his old age, than all his other labours and writings.

His prevalency
in prayer.

His experiments in Prayer were many, and very observable, God often answering his desires in kinde, and that immediately, when he was in some distreffes; and Gods Providence in taking care, and providing for him in his younger years, as he often spake of it, so it wrought in him a firm resolution to depend upon God in his latter dayes, what ever extremity he might be brought into.

He is Bachelor in Divinity, and Professor.

Anno Christi 1607, when he was twenty seven years old he commenced batchelor of *Divinity*, and immediately after he was chosen Professor of *Divinity* in the University of *Dublin*: At first he read twice a week, and afterwards once a week without intermission throughout the year, going through a great part of *Bellarmines* Controversies. In this employment he continued thirteen or fourteen years, and was a great ornament to his place. Three Volumes of those his Lectures

Lectures written with his own hand he hath left behind him, and it would be a great honour to that University where they were read, and benefit to many others if they were published.

When he performed his Acts for his degree, *Latine* Sermon, Lectures, Position, and answered the *Divinity* Act, he wrote nothing but only the heads of the several Subjects, putting all upon the strength of his memory, and present expressions, as also he did his *English* Sermons. His readiness in the *Latine* Tongue was inferiour to none in these latter times, which (after seventeen years disuse, from the time that he left his Professors place) appeared when he moderated the *Divinity* Act, and created Doctors to all mens admiration.

His strong memory.

The Provostship of the College of *Dublin* falling void, he was unanimously elected thereto by all the Fellows, he being then about thirty years of age, but foreseeing that upon the settlement of Lands belonging to it, and the establishing of other matters, he should be much impeded and distracted in his studies, he refused it, and so another was sent out of *England* to fill it. The revenues of it were very considerable, whereby we may see how mean and little the things of the world seemed in his eyes even in those his younger years.

His Self-denial

About this time the *Irish* Prelates, especially Dr. *Hampton*, his predecessor in the See of *Armagh*, had obtained King *James* his grant for reducing *Ireland* to the same Ecclesiastical Government of the Church of *England*; the principal occasion whereof was this, The *English* Prelates a little before had used a

Episcopal subtilty.

great deal of severity against the *Non-conformists*, their High Commission, and other Courts, and *Cannons*, had driven many worthy and learned men into other Countries, and some of them went into *Ireland*, the *Irish* Bishops being weary of this resort, are desirous to advance their power to the same height with the *English Hierarchy*, combined together, and obtained King *James* his Commission to *Sir Arthur Chichester*, Earle of *Belfast*, a famous Souldier and prudent Governour, who was at this time Lord Deputy, and bore the Sword there eleven years together with very much honour, and esteem in that Nation. For the effecting of this, a great Assembly of the whole Nation was convened. In the Commission the King required them to consult with Mr. *Usher*, whose learning, judgement, and esteem would much conduce to the promoting of that work: But if he approved it not, the King required that they should proceed no further, for that he would not be the author of any Innovation amongst them.

This reserve troubled the Prelates exceedingly, and therefore they resolved to carry it closely; the Kings Letters to them, they transmitted from one to another, but acquainted not Mr. *Usher* with them, intending to surprize him when the Assembly was met; they should come prepared and fortified, he would be taken on the sudden. Howbeit God that intended him for so great a good at that time in crossing their design, that many faithful labourers in his Vineyard might not by this their power be displaced, by a special Providence gave him some light (though but very little) into the matter; and the manner was thus;

Mr.

Mr. *Usher* going to visit one of them, found him perusing the Kings Letter; but upon his coming, he laid it down in his window, closed at both ends, onely there was an open place in the middle, and as they were discoursing together, Mr. *Usher* glancing his eye upon it, espied his own name, and some other vvords about himself, of which he could not pick out the meaning, but yet he judged them to be of importance, as *Discipline, Ireland, England, &c.* Mr. *Usher* thought it not prudence for him to take notice of those hints, neither could he handsomely fish out the business from the Bishop, wherefore he went another way to work; and indeed the surest way, by seeking counsel from God, communicating the matter to Dean *Hill* a very godly man, whom he requested, that with some others, they would seek unto God for his assistance, for he believed that something was in brewing that he might not know of. Herein imitating the practise of wise *Daniel*, Chap. 2. 17, 18.

A special Providence.

A holy practise.

This done he studied the Rights of the *Irish* Church, some fruits whereof we have in that Learned Piece of his called, *The Religion professed by the ancient Irish and Britains*. Yet he heard nothing till the Assembly was summoned, and himself the next day was to be present at it; then went he to the Lord *Deputy* to know the occasion of their meeting. The Lord *Deputy* would not believe at first that he could be a stranger to it, but afterwards, when Mr. *Usher* had assured him that he had no information from the Bishops about it, he was much displeased, and told him that without him all the the rest were but Cyphers, for that the King had referred the whole business to his judgement, whether the

the power of the *Hierarchy* should be established there as it was in *England*.

The next day the Kings Commission and Letters were read in the Assembly, and Speeches were made concerning the excellency of the Kings intention to reduce that Kingdome to one uniformity with *England* in *Ecclesiastical* Government; they also told him what honour the King had put upon him, whose esteem, learning and judgement the King so much depended upon for the promoting so great and good a work. Mr. *Usher* replied, that he believed that in a business of so great concernment wherein he was so far interested, the Kings intentions were that he should have convenient time to consider of it before he delivered his opinion, which he also humbly desired.

The Bishops answered, that his judgement was sufficiently known by his practise, and that they expected no more from him but his consent, and concurrence with them. He replied, that the matter concerned more than himself, *For (said he) if I had all mens consciences in my keeping, I could in these disputable cases give Laws unto them, as well as unto my self, but its one thing what I can do, and another thing what all other men must do.*

His Speech in
the Assembly.

Then they asked of him if he had any thing to say why they should not satisfy the Kings desire? He, after a short pause, wherein he lifted up his heart unto God for direction, told them that if they would grant him no longer time, he would as well as he was able give them his judgement, if that Honourable Assembly would grant him three Requests, 1. A free hearing without interruption. 2. Liberty for him to answer

swer any man that should be unsatisfied. 3. That there might be a final determination of the business at that meeting. These being all granted, Mr. Usher undertook to prove, that such a Jurisdiction could not be introduced into that Kingdome, neither by the Laws of God, nor by the *Civil*, or *Ecclesiastical* Constitutions of that Kingdome, nor yet without the violation of the Kings Prerogative in that Nation! All which he performed to admiration. But before he descended to particulars, he shewed the difference between Conformity as it was set up in *England*, and as it would be, if it were set up in *Ireland*.

The Kings (saith he) *and Queen of England imposed those Ceremonies, that thereby they might decline the charge of Schismatics, wherewith the Church of Rome laboured to brand them, seeing it did appear hereby that they left them only in such Doctrinal points, wherein they left the truth. Again, hereby they would testifie how far they would willingly stoop to win and gain them, by yeelding to meet them as far as they might in their own way: But* (saith he) *the experience of many years hath shewed, that this condescension hath rather hardened them in their errours, than brought them to a liking of our Religion: This being their usual saying, If our Flesh be not good, why doe you drinke of our Broth?*

As for Ireland, wherein the English Canons were never yet received, and the generality of the Inabitans were Popish Recusants, and even in Popish Kings times, there was no receptions of the Popes Ecclesiastical Constitutions, because he encroached upon their temporals, if such Laws now should be set up under so Religious a Protestant

The Success of
his Speech.

King, this would be to set the Pope on Horse-back, amongst them, which needed not.

The Lord Deputy, when he had finished his Speech, and answered what was objected against it, told him that he was much affected with every part of his learned speech, but that he was more especially concerned in that which touched upon the Kings *Prerogative* part, wherein he had discovered such hidden flowers of the Crown, as he thought the King himself knew not; and therefore (he said) as he would endeavour to preserve his Majesties right therein, whilst he was his Deputy, so he would present them to the King, and take care, that it should be very hard for any that came after him to rob him of them.

By this we may easily see, that he was then so far from a *Prelatical* spirit, that on the contrary he was an Advocate for, and Patrone of godly and conscientious *Non-Conformists*.

He is Dr. of
Divinity.

Anno Christi 1612, he proceeded Dr. of *Divinity* being created by Archbishop *Hampton*, his Predecessor; one of his Lectures for his Degree was upon the seventy weeks to the slaying of the *Messias*, mentioned *Dan. 9. 24.* the other out of *Rev. 20. 4.* concerning the meaning of the Prophecie, that the *Saints should reign with Christ a thousand years*, which in these times would be very seasonable; but its lost.

Dr. *Hoyle* (who died Professor of *Divinity* in *Oxford*, after he had many years been the like in *Dublin*) said, that when he went out Dr. of *Divinity*, he thought *Tully* himself could not have excelled him in Eloquence (had he been alive) not only in his composed speeches, but in those which occasionally fell from him upon the by.

Anno

Anno Christi 1613, He published his Book, *De Ecclesiæ Christianarum successione, & statu*, magnified so much by *Causabon* and *Sculterus*, in their *Greek*, and *Latine* verses before it. It was solemnly presented by Archbishop *Abbot* to King *James*, as the eminent first fruits of that College at *Dublin*. Indeed its imperfect, for about three hundred years from *Gregory* the 11, to *Leo* the 10, viz. from the year 1371, to 1513, and from thence to this last Century, which he intended (after the finishing of a Book, which he was now about) to have compleated: But the Lord prevented him.

Anno Christi 1615, there was a Parliament in *Dublin*, and consequently a Convocation of the Clergy, at which time those learned Articles of *Ireland* were composed and published, and Dr. *Usher* being a member of that Synod, was appointed to draw them up; they were highly approved of the most Orthodox Divines. They determine according to St. *Austin* against the Doctrine of the *Pelagians*: Prove the Man of sin, spoken of 1 *Thess.* 2. to be the Bishop of *Rome*; and for the Morality of the *Sabbath*; of both which this most learned Doctor was very confident, and oft wished that some of our learned men of late had spared their pains when they went about to prove the contrary. In defence of the last of these, he wrote a most excellent and learned Letter to Dr. *Twiss*, who had desired his judgement about it.

The Articles.
of Ireland.

He wanted not enemies who sought to scandalize him to King *James* under the Title of a *Puritan*, which was very odious to him in those dayes, seeking hereby to prevent his further promotion; but God so ordered

His enemies.

He is made
Bishop by the
King.

He preaches
to the Parlia-
ment.

His constant
preaching.

His success in
his Ministry.

dered it, that it proved an occasion of his advancement; for King *James* being jealous of him upon that score, by reason of the eminency of his learning, fell into serious discourse with him, and therein received such abundance of satisfaction, both of the soundness of his judgement and piety, that notwithstanding the opposition made by some great ones, without his seeking, he made him Bishop of *Meath* in *Ireland*, which just then fell void whilst he was in *England*, and the King often boasted that he was a Bishop of his own making.

Whilst he was thus Bishop Elect, he was chosen to preach before the House of Commons, *Feb. 18. 1620*, in *Margarets Westminster*: The Sermon by order of the House was printed, and it is a most learned one.

Upon his return into *Ireland*, he was consecrated Bishop of *Meath* at *Drogheda* by Archbishop *Hampton*, with the assistance of two Suffragan Bishops, according to the custome, at which time there was given him an *Anagram* of his Name, as he was then to write himself, which was this, *James Meath, I am the same*; and he made it good ever afterwards. His preferment did not cause him to grow slack in his constancy of preaching, as it did too many, who having caught the Fish, laid aside the Net: But, as *Possidonius* saith of *St. Austin*, he was still the same; which he bound himself the rather unto by the *Motto* of his Episcopal Seal, *Ve mihi si non Evangelizavero*, Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel, which he continued in the Seal of his Primacy also.

He had many *Papists* in his Diocess, whom he endeavoured

deavoured to reclaim by private conferences, and at length they were willing to hear him preach, so it were not in a Church, which he condescended to, and preached in the Sessions-house, and his Sermon wrought so much upon some of them, that their Priests forbad them hearing him in any place ever after.

Anno 1622, there were some *Papists* censured in the Star-chamber for refusing to take the *Oath of Supremacy*, at which time he was called thither to inform them of it before the sentence passed, which occasioned that learned Speech of his upon that Subject, since printed with his *English* works.

While he was Bishop of *Meath*, he answered a challenge sent him by the *Jesuite Malone*; and his going over into *England* to Print it, occasioned another learned Tractate of the Universality of the Church of Christ, and the Unity of the Catholick Faith, in a Sermon preached before King *James* on *Eph. 4. 13. Till we all come in the unity of the Faith, &c.* And Gods providence so ordered it, that whilst he was thus busied in *England*, Archbishop *Hampton* dying, he was made his successour, *Primate of Ireland*, Anno *Christi* 1624, and he was the hundreth Bishop of that See.

His answer to
a Jesuit.

He is made
Primate of
Ireland.

Being thus promoted to the highest preferment his Profession was capable of in his native Country, he was so far from being puffed up with Pride, that he was more humble, and frequent in preaching, and it so fell out, that for some weeks together overtoyling himself in the work of the Ministry to the overwasting of his spirits, whic he did at the request of some *Essex*

Ministers, who importuned him to preach on the week dayes, because they could not come to hear him on the *Sabbaths*, he fell into a *Quartane Ague*, which held him three quarters of a year.

His disputa-
tion with a
Jesuit.

After his recovery, the Lord *Mordant* (afterwards Earle of *Peterborough*) being a *Papist*, and desirous to draw his Lady to the same Religion, he was willing that there should be a meeting of two eminent persons of each party to dispute what might be in controversy between them. The Lady made choice of our Lord *Primate*, and prevailed with him, though newly recovered from the aforesaid long sickness, and scarce able to take such a journey. The *Jesuite* chosen by the Earle went under the name of *Beaumont*, but his true name was *Rookwood* (brother to *Ambrose Rookwood*, one of the *Gunpowder Traitors*.) The place of meeting was at *Drayton* in *Northamptonshire*, where there was a great Library, so that no Books of the ancient Fathers were wanting upon occasion for their view. The points to be disputed on, were concerning *Transubstantiation*, *Invocation* of Saints, *worshipping* of Images, and the *visibility* of the Church. Three dayes they were in this Disputation, three hours in the forenoon, and two hours in the afternoon each day; and the conclusion was this, After the third day of meeting, the Lord *Primate* having been hitherto opponent, now the Tables were to be turned, and the *Jesuit* according to his desire, was to oppose, and the Lord *Primate* to answer: But when the time came, and the *Jesuit* was expected, instead of coming, he sent his excuse to the Lord *Mordant*, which was, that all the Arguments which he had framed in his head, and

and premeditated, so that he thought he had them as perfect as his *Pater Noster*, were now slipt from him, and he could not possibly recover them again; and that he believed it was a just judgement of God upon him, for undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminency and learning without a licence from his *Superiour*. The Lord *Mordant* seeing his tergiversation, upon some further discourse with the Lord *Primate*, was converted, and became a *Protestant*, and so continued to his death. One *Challoner*, a *Secular Priest*, afterwards writing a book against this *Beaumont* by way of scorn, bids him beware of coming any more to *Drayton*, lest he meet with another *Usher*, to soil him again, to the dishonour of his profession, and himself.

The Lord
Mordant converted.

The Lord having made his labours so succesful, the Countess of *Peterborough* had him alwayes in great respect, and upon his losses in *Ireland*, and other distresses here, she took him home to her owne house, with whom he lived about nine or ten years, and then died there.

Anno Christi 1626, in *August*, he went back into *Ireland*, where he was entertained with all the expressions of love and joy that could be.

The discourses which daily tell from him at his Table in clearing difficulties in the Scripture, and other subjects (especially when learned men came to visit him) tended exceedingly to the edification of the hearers, so that it might well be said of him, as the *Queen of Sheba* said to *Solomon*, *Happy are these thy servants that stand continually about thee, and hear thy wisdom*. And such was his humility withall, as that he would,

His fruitfull
conference.

His Humility.

would, in practical subjects, apply himself to the capacity of the poorest, and weakest Christian that came to him for information, and satisfaction of their doubts. Nay some times, he was more propense to communicate himself to such, than to others that were more learned; which strangers have wondred at, as the Disciples marvelled at our Saviours talking with the poor *woman of Samaria*, Joh. 4. 27. and answering her questions, rather than taking notice of them. Indeed he was a Mirror of Humility: For though he was higher than any other from the shoulders upward, yet might many of his inferiours learn humility of him, as may appear in these few amongst many other examples.

Examples of it

1. In his publick preaching, no man more denied himself to preach Christ, insomuch as some that affected that frothy way of preaching by strong lines (as they call them) were much ashamed after they had heard him preach in *Oxford*, wherein he reprov'd, and decried the *Corinthian* vanity in this kinde. Also in one passage of his at the Court before the King, he taught the Bishops, and Doctors that then heard him, thus; *Great Schellars* (said he) *possibly may think that it stands not with their credit, and reputation to stoop so low, &c. But let the learnedest of us all try it when we will, and we shall finde, that to lay this groundwork right, that is, to apply our selves to the capacities of a common Auditory, and to make an ignorant man to understand these Mysteries in some good measure, will put us to the trial of our skill, and will trouble us a great deal more, than if we were to discuss a Controversie, or handle a subtile point of learning in the Schools.* He was indeed another *Paul*, who

who determined to know nothing but Christ, and him crucified. Neither was his speech or preaching with the enticing words of mans wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit, and of power, 1 Cor. 2. 2, 4.

2. In his private conversation he framed himself to the capacity of the meanest that conversed with him. He had an excellent gift of expressing himself both in *Latine* and *English*, and as he could sore with the *Eagle* in *Polemick* discourses when he met with *Giants*, so he would stoop to the lowest *Pigmies* in practical subjects, and would apply himself to the poorest and weakest Christians. He was no *Dictator*, nor would impose upon other mens judgements or consciences, but was as ready to receive from others, as to impart to them, and would much incline to vulgar Christians, rather than unto others that were more learned.

3. In his demeanour and behaviour he had high thoughts of others, and as low of himself, and that in every condition of his life, both in prosperity and adversity. Godly persons of what rank soever, had great power with him, he would put them in his bosome, visit them in their sickness, supply their wants, beg their prayers, and countenance their cause and persons. In his passage for *Ireland*, he sometimes lay at *Nelson* for wind, where sundry times he preached to a plain Country Auditory: And whereas there were in that part of the Country (where I lived about five years when I first began my Ministry) divers plain Christians, which were never called but by their Christian names; yet indeed were such as had not a bare form, but the life and power of godliness in them,

F f

Pfal. 16. 3. &
19. 6.

them, so that I was never acquainted with more knowing Christians for men and women of their rank; these he grew into familiar acquaintance with, would entertain them in his chamber, discourse with them, answer their questions, and satisfy their doubts: And when he was made Archbishop, some of them told him, that now they must know their distance, and durst not be so familiar with him as formerly: To whom he answered, that he was the same man still, and they should be as welcome to him as formerly, and accordingly used the same familiarity with them as he had wont to do: And when he lay at *Chester*, he would as soon preach at the request of Mr. *Ashbrook*, and Mrs. *Kirkman* (a godly woman of the meaner rank, whom I well knew) as at the intreaties of the Mayor and Aldermen of that City, whereby he demonstrated, that *his delight was in the Saints*, and that he was a *companion of all them that feared God*; and this indeed was one reason that he rose so high; he *honoured God*, and therefore *God honoured him*, 1 Sam. 2. 30.

Whilst I lived in *Warwickshire*, not much before the long Parliament begun, my self with two other neighbour Ministers made a journey to *Oxford* (where he then was) on purpose to desire his judgement in some cases wherein we could not so well satisfy ourselves; we found him at his lodgings in *Christ Church*, where, before he would admit any speech with us, he caused us to put on our hats, to sit down by him, and then to speak our mindes; when I told him that we were come to request his judgement in some difficulties, he presently stopped me, saying, Mr. *Clarke*, I shall

shall freely tell you my judgement in any thing but about the *Et cetera* Oath, concerning which I did speak occasionally, declaring my minde about it, and I have newly received a Letter from two Doctors (whose names I forbear to insert out of respect to them) who take me up as if I was a School-boy, (and withall he pulled the Letter out of his pocket) adding, that in that regard he would say no more about that matter, &c. I replied, that we were sufficiently satisfied about that Oath, but the Questions we had to propound were of another nature, wherein he gave us very full and clear satisfaction.

His custome was to pray four times a day, in, and with his Family; in the morning at six a clock, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in his Chappel, at each of which he was always present. On *Friday* in the afternoons there was constantly an hour spent in his Chappel in Catechizing upon the Principles of Religion for the instructing of his Family, and on *Sabbaths* in the evening, the Sermon which he had preached in the forenoon was repeated in his Chappel by one of his Chaplains.

His frequent Prayers.

In the Winter evenings his constant manner was to spend two hours in comparing of old *Manuscripts* of the Bible, in *Greek* and *Latine*, in which work, five or six assisted him, and the *varia lectiones* of each were taken by himself with his own hand.

His Industry.

Anno Christi 1626, in *Michaelmas* Terme there were some Proposals made, and offered to be assented to by the *Irish Papists*, upon condition of a more full Tolleration of their Religion, for the raising and maintaining of five hundred Horse, and five thousand

A Tolleration of Popery desired.

Foot; wherein the *Protestants* also must have born some share : To consider hereof, a great Assembly of *Papists* and *Protestants* of the whole Nation was appointed in the Lord *Deputy Faulklands* time. The place of their meeting was in the Hall of the Castle in *Dublin*. At which time the Bishops, by our Lord *Primates* invitation, met at his house, where he, and they drew up, and unanimously subscribed a Protestation against the Toleration of *Popery*; A Copy whereof, because it deserves perpetual remembrance, is here inserted.

The Judgement of the Archbishops, and Bishops of Ireland, concerning the Toleration of Popery, which is applicable also against the Toleration of other Heresies.

The Bishops
judgements
against it.

“ The Religion of the *Papists* is Superstitious and
“ Idolatrous, their Faith and Doctrine erroneous, and
“ *Heretical*, their Church in respect of both *Apostata-*
“ *tical*. To give them therefore a Toleration, or to
“ consent that they may freely exercise their Reli-
“ gion, and profess their Faith and Doctrine is a grie-
“ vous sin, and that in two respects; For,

“ 1. It is to make our selves accessary, not onely
“ to their Superstitions, Idolatries, Heresies; and in a
“ word, to all the abominations of *Popery*, but also
“ (which is a consequent of the former) to the per-
“ dition of the seduced people, which perish in the
“ Deluge of the *Catholick Apostacy*.

“ 2. To grant them a Toleration, in respect of any
“ money to be given, or contribution to be made by
“ them,

“ them, is to set Religion to sale, and with it, the
 “ souls of the People, whom Christ our Saviour hath
 “ redeemed with his most precious blood. And as it is
 “ a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous con-
 “ sequence, the consideration whereof we commend
 “ to the Wise and Judicious; Beseeching the Zealous
 “ God of Truth, to make them who are in Authority,
 “ zealous of Gods glory, and of the advancement of
 “ true Religion; zealous, resolute, and courageous
 “ against all Popery, Superstition, and Idolatry, Amen.

Ja. Armachanus,

Mal. Cashlen,

Anth. Medensis,

Tho. Hernes & Laghlin,

Ro. Dunensis, &c.

George. Derensf.

Rich. Cork, Cloyne, Rosses,

Andr. Alachadensf.

Tho. Kilmore, & Ardagh,

Theo. Dromore,

Mic. Waterford & Lysm.

Fran. Lymerick.

“ This Judgement of the Bishops, Dr. George
 “ Downham, Bishop of Derry, at the next meeting of
 “ the Assembly, which was April the 23, 1627,
 “ published at Christ Church before the Lord Deputy
 “ and Council in the midst of his Sermon, with
 “ this preamble, viz.

“ Are not many amongst us for gain, and outward
 “ respects, willing, and ready to consent to a Tola-
 “ tion of false Religions, thereby making themselves
 “ guilty of a great offence, in putting to sale not onely
 “ their own souls, but also the souls of others: But
 “ what is to be thought of Toleration of Religion, I
 “ will not deliver my own private opinion, but the
 “ judgement of the Archbishops, and Bishops of this
 “ Kingdome, which I think good to publish unto you,

“that whosoever shall happen, the world may know
 “that we were far from consenting to those favours
 “which the *Papists* expect.

After he had published it, the people gave their votes with a generall acclamation, crying, *Amen*. The judgments of the Bishops prevailed so much with the Protestants, that now the Proposals drove on very heavily, and after much debate of things, the *L. Deputy* finding the discontents of both parties encreasing, desired our Lord *Primate*, as the fittest person, both in regard of his esteem in the Assembly, and being a member of the Council, and therefore concerned in promoting of the Kings business, to sum up the state of things, and to move them to an absolute grant of some competency that might comply with the Kings necessities, without any such conditions, with which upon their answer, he would cease moving any further; which (upon very little warning) he did with much prudence, according to his double capacity of a Privy Counsellour, and a Bishop: A copy of which Speech desired of him by the Lord *Deputy*, was immediately transmitted into *England*: But it not being prevalent with the Assembly, to induce them to supply the Kings wants, it was dissolved.

Lord Falklands
 esteem of him.

Not long after the Lord *Deputy Falkland* being called back into *England*, when he was to take Boat at the water side, he reserved our Lord *Primate* as the last person to take his leave of, and fell upon his knees on the sands, and begged his blessing, which reverend respect shewed to him, gained a greater reputation to himself, both in *Ireland* and *England*; and indeed from his younger years, the several Lord *Deputies* had alwayes a great esteem of him.

It

It was no small labour to him to answer those many Letters which came to him from foreign parts; and our own Nations upon several occasions; some for resolution of difficulties in Divinity, others about Cases of Conscience, and practical subjects. Twelve of the most eminent Divines in *London* (who at his being here, were wont to apply themselves to him as to a Father, as Dr. *Sibbs*, Dr. *Preston*, &c. between whom, and him there were most entire affections) wrote to him for his directions about a Body of practical Divinity, which he returned them accordingly.

His incessant pains.

He much endeavoured the augmentation of the maintenance of the Ministry in *Ireland*, and for that end he had obtained a Patent for Impropriations to be passed in his name for their use as they should fall, but it was too much neglected by themselves, whereby his desires were frustrated.

His care of the Ministry.

He preached every Lords day in the forenoon, never failing unless he was disabled by sickness, in which he spent himself very much: In the afternoons his directions to Dr. *Bernard*, his assistant, were, that before publick Prayers he should *Catechize* the youth, and that after the first, and second Lesson, he should spend half an hour in a brief and plain opening the Principles of Religion in the publick *Catechisme*; and therein he directed him to go, first through the *Creed* at once, giving but the sum of each Article, the next time to go through it at thrice, and afterwards to take each time one Article, as they might be more able to bear it; and to observe the like proportionably in the *Ten Commandments*, the *Lords Prayer*, and the Doctrine of the *Sacraments*: The good fruit of which was

His constant preaching and catechizing.

apparent in the common people upon their coming to the Communion, at which time, by order, the receivers were to send in their names, and some account was constantly taken of their fitness for it. His order throughout his Diocese to the Ministers, was, that they should go through the Body of Divinity once a year, which he had accordingly drawn out into fifty heads. When any publick Fast was enjoyed he kept it very strictly, preaching alwayes first himself, and therein continuing at least two hours, in a more than ordinary manner enlarging himself in prayer; the like was done by those that assisted him in the duty.

His expences
in Books and
Manuscripts.

His expences for Books was very great, especially whilst he enjoyed the revenues of his Archbishoprick, a certain part whereof he laid aside yearly for that end, but especially for the purchasing of *Manuscripts* and other Rarities, as well from remote parts of the world, as near at hand. He was the first that procured the *Samaritan Bible* (which is onely the *Pentateuch*) to the view of these *Western* parts of the world. It was sent him from *Syria* by the way of *A'epo*, Anno Christi 1625. He had four of them sent him by a Factor whom he imployed to search for things of that nature; and these were thought to be all that could there be had. One of these he gave to the Library of *Oxford*: A second to *Leyden* (for which *Ludovicus de Dien* returns him publick thanks in a Book that he dedicated to him:) A third he gave to Sir *Robert Cottons* Library: And the fourth, after he had compared it with the other, he kept himself. The Old Testament in *Syriack*, an other Rarity also, was sent him from thole parts not long after.

It

It might happily seem incredible unto some, to relate how many years ago, he confidently foretold the changes which since are come to pass both in *Ireland* and *England*, both in Church and State, and of the poverty which himself should fall into, which he oft spake of in his greatest plenty. Some took much notice of that Text which he preached of in *St. Maries* in *Cambridge*, *Anno Christi* 1625, upon the late Kings Coronation day, and the first annual solemnity of it, out of *1 Sam. 12. 25. If you still do wickedly, you shall be consumed, both you, and your King.* Others of the last Text that he preached on at the Court immediately before his return into *Ireland*, *1 Cor. 14. 33. God is not the Author of confusion; but of peace, as in all the Churches of the Saints:* In his application, he spake of the confusions, and divisions which he was confident were then at the doors.

A Prediction.

In his Book called *Ecclesiarum Britannicarum Antiquitates*, p. 556, he hath this remarkable passage, after he had largely related the manner of the utter destruction of the *British* Church and State by the *Saxons* about the year 550, as he found it in *Gildas*, he gives two reasons why he was so prolix in setting it down, 1. That the Divine Justice might the rather from thence appear to us, the sins of persons of all sorts and degrees being then come to the height, which occasioned, not onely shaking of the foundations of the *British* Church and State; but the very destruction, and almost utterly overturning of them, 2. That even we now might be in the greater fear that our turn also is coming, and may be minded of that of the Apostle, *Rom. 11. 22. Behold the goodness*

and severity of God : On them which fell, severity, but towards thee goodness, if thou continue in his goodness : Otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.

Jer. 2. 9.

His zeal against Popery.

Predictions.

He often acknowledged that sometimes in his Sermons he hath resolved to forbear speaking of some things, but it proved like *Jeremiahs* fire shut up in his bones, that when he came to it, he could not forbear unless he would have stood mute, and proceeded no further. He was very bold and free in the exercise of his Ministry, sparing sin in none, yea even before Kings he was not ashamed to do it. He often (to his utmost) stood in the gap to oppose Errours and false Doctrines; he withstood to the face any Toleration of *Popery* and Superstition, by whomsoever attempted : He was so fervent in his preaching, that that of the *Psalmist* might be applied to him, *The zeal of thy house hath eaten me up.*

Anno Christi 1624, he spake before many witnesses, and often repeated it afterwards, that he was persuaded that the greatest stroak to the Reformed Churches was yet to come; and that the time of the utter ruine of the *Roman Antichrist* should be when he thought himself most secure, according to that Text, *Revel. 18. 7. When she shall say, I sit as a Queen, and shall see no sorrow, &c.* His farewell Sermon, in, or very near the place where he had lived in England, was then much observed upon *Jam. 1. 25. Sin when it is finished brings forth death*, where-in he spake of the fulness of the sins of this Nation, which certainly would bring great destruction : Adding, that the *Harvest of the earth was ripe*, and the *Angel was putting in his sickle*, *Rev. 14. 18.* applying also

also that of the *Epha* in the Vision, *Zach. 5.* when it was filled with wickedness; and that of the *Amorites*, who when their iniquities were come to the full, were destroyed. He often also hinted the same in his private discourses, and many that heard them, laid these his sayings up in their hearts, and by what hath already fallen out, do measure their expectations for the future.

At the last time of his being in *London*, he much lamented, with great thoughts of heart, the wofull dis-unions, and the deadly hatred which he saw kindled in the hearts of Christians one against another, by reason of their several opinions in matters of Religion; and observing how some opposed the Ministry, both to Office and maintenance: Others contemned the Sacraments: Others raised, and spread abroad *Damnable Doctrines, Heresies, and Blasphemies*: Upon which considerations he was confident, that the enemies which had sown these up and down the Nation, were *Priests, Friars, and Jesuits*, and such like *Papish Agents*, sent out of their Seminaries from beyond the Seas in sundry disguises, who increasing in number here in *London*, and elsewhere, do expect a great harvest of their labours; and he was perswaded, that if they were not timely prevented by a severe suppressing of them, the issue would be either an inundation of *Popery*, or a Massacre, or both; adding withall, how willing he was, if the Lord so pleased, to be taken away from that *evil to come*, which he confidently expected, unless there were some speedy Reformation of these things.

He lamented
our Divisions.

An. Christi 1634, A little before the Parliament be-

His Humility.

gan in *Ireland*, there was a Letter sent over from the late King to the Lord *Deputy*, and Council, for determining the question of the precedency between the Primate and Archbishop of *Dublin*; the question was nothing as to their persons, but in relation to their *Sees*. This good man out of his great humility, was hardly drawn to speak to that Argument; but being commanded, he shewed in it a great deal of learning, and rare observations in matters of Antiquity, so that the business was determined on his side, who afterwards by another Letter (procured without his seeking) had the precedency given him of the Lord *Chancellor*. These things took little with him, but were rather burdens to him who was not in the least elated, or puffed up thereby. At that Parliament, he preached the first day of it before the Lord *Deputy*, and the Lords and Commons, in *St. Patricks Dublin*. His Text was, *Gen. 49. 10. The Scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a Law-giver from between his feet till Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be.*

At the beginning also of the Parliament *Anno Christi 1639*, he preached before the same Auditory on *Deut. 33. 4, 5. And Moses commanded us a Law, even the Inheritance of the Congregation of Jacob, and he was a King in Jesurun, when the heads of the people, and the Tribes of Israel were gathered together.* Both which Texts as they were pertinent, so were they handled with rare Judgement and eminent Learning.

His Labours
successful.

The Lord was pleased to make his Labours very successful, some few instances whereof, I shall here

here set down ; some of which I had from my Reverend Friend Mr. *Stanly Gower* , the last from my own knowledge.

A Lords eldest son , who from his cradle had been trained up in *Popery* , but was of excellent parts , and learning was at last prevailed with by his Father to sojourn for a while with this learned Prelate in *Drogheda* , The prudent Prelate studied nothing more than how he might take him by craft (as the Apostle did the *Corinthians* , 2 Cor. 12. 16.) and therefore did not presently fall into discourse with him about his Religion , but recreated himself for a time in discoursing with him about some Philosophical questions , and Schol-points, in which studies he perceived the Gentleman was well versed, and took much delight in them : This he continued till at last he gained so far upon his affections, that of his own accord he moved some discourse about matters of Religion ; and then finding him studious , he did not presently go about to instruct him in the Truth, but sought to puzzle him with doubts about his own Religion : By this means the Gentlemans conscience began to be awakened ; nor were his scruples removed, though he had recourse to a *Monastery* hard by where they were debated, so that at last he came with tears to the Learned Primate for satisfaction, and he promised to deal faithfully with him; but (saith he) *those whom you trust do not so, for they will not suffer you to see with your own eyes, nor to understand the Scripture but according to their Churches Commentaries.* Then did he advise him to go amongst them, and to ask them, whether he that understood the *originals* might examine their Interpretations , and to

His Prudence

bring him word what they said. Accordingly he did so, and brought him word, that they were divided in their judgements.

Then did the learned Prelate with him no longer to trust to their implicit Faith, and he would demonstrate to him how much they perverted the sense of the Scriptures, and abused the writings of the Antient Fathers, whilst they sought to make the world believe that the Fathers and Councils were wholly for them, and against us: *And if (saith he) you distrust your own learning and reading, and will make choice of any other, who you think can say more, I will make this good which I have said before the best of them all.*

Prayer powerful.

This was an introduction to much confidence which the Gentleman had in him; and it pleased God after much temptation which he had to the contrary (as he confessed) to direct him to betake himself to prayer; after which time, he acknowledged that he understood more of the way of truth, both when he conferred with the Primate, and when he meditated apart, than ever he could attain to before; and the issue was, that he came into the Church unlooked for of the Primate, and after Sermon, made a confession of his Faith, offering to seal the truth of it (if they pleased to admit him) by receiving the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, which was then to be administered.

The *Papists*, especially the *Priests* were so enraged hereat, for losing such an one of whom they conceived so great hopes, that they made much disturbance, inso-much as the Gentleman, for safety, was sent over into *England* to *Oxford*, that he might decline their fury; and the forces of the City were raised to prevent the

the present danger : and the Lord *Deputy* hearing of it, sent a Troop of Horse, and (as it was said) thereupon dissolved one of their *Monasteries*. Another was this,

The Lady *Falkland*, about the time of the late Queens coming out of *France* to be married to King *Charles*, turned *Recusant*, and on a time was gotten into the company of Father *Fisher*, Father *Sweet*, and Father *Swetnam* in *Drury Lane*, and by some means or other, Dr. *Featly*, and Mr. *Gataker* were procured to meet them there; the Lord *Savil*, brother to this Lady, as he also was going that way, accidentally met with Dr. *Usher*, and intreated him to go along with him to this meeting; the Bishop consented, and by the way requested the Lord *Savil* at their first entrance privately to give notice to his Sister, the Lady *Falkland*, that she should take no notice of him, and saith he, *I will do the like to the Ministers*, and as for the *Jesuits* I believe, they know me not at all.

At their first entrance, they found them engaged about *Image-worship*; the *Jesuits* denied that they gave them Divine worship; the Ministers were proving that they were no fit *mediums* to worship God by. After they had tugged at it, and were wearied, and ready to give over that Question, Bishop *Usher* said, *But Gentlemen, pray you tell me, do not you give them Divine worship?* they answered no: *How then* (said he) *will you be tryed?* they answered, By the Council of *Trent*. Indeed (said the Bishop) *that Council doth require the giving of worship to them, but who shall expound what that honour, and worship is, and assure us that it is not Divine? Will you be determined* by

His Disputations with three Jesuits.

by Thomas Aquinas: they said, Yes. Then was the Book sent for, and he turned presently to that place where he concludes, that the *same reverence is to be given to the Image of Christ, as to Christ himself*, and by consequence, seeing Christ is adored with the worship of *Latria*, his Image also is to be adored with the same worship. Now (said the Bishop) have you any higher worship than the *Latria* that you give to God? Upon this one of the *Jesuits* whispered to the Lady *Falkland* to know his name that thus disputed: she answered, that he was a Country Minister. No (quoth the *Jesuit*) there is more in him than in both the other. Try him (said she) further.

That Question being laid aside, that of Free-will was taken up; the Bishop sat silent as before whilst the state of the Question was canvassed between the Ministers and *Jesuits*, and much ado there was about it, so that they had like to have broken off, without coming to any issue; the Bishop seeing that, said, *Gentlemen, if you will give me leave I will bring you to the point in difference presently by this similitude. If you make Free-will to be the Horse, I will make Grace to be his Rider. Now true it is, my Horse can go of himself, but he knows not whither I intend to go: Besides he is dull, and tyred, and I spur him on; my spur doth not properly go, but it makes my Horse to go. You may easily apply it: But the Jesuits had enough, and lifted not to encounter him any farther, pretending a necessity to be gone, and so left the place; So mightily it pleased God by him to convince them.*

They are
foyled.

Another Dis-
putation.

Another was this: A Protestant Knight in Ireland, had prevailed so far with his Lady, who was then a
Papist,

Papist, as to admit of a Parley about their Religion, and she made choice of one for her, that was called amongst them, *the Rock of Learning*. The Knight made choice of this our Primate to encounter him, and upon the day appointed many persons of note were there assembled; the learned, and prudent Primate before the Disputation began, spake thus to the Lady, *Madam* (said he) *let us know the end of our meeting. Is it that this Gentleman, and I should try our strength before you? If so, then it is like that we can speak Languages, and quote Authors which you do not understand, how then will you know who gets the better? Therefore this is not our end: If this Gentleman desires to shew his learning and reading that way, if he please to come to the College of Dublin, where there are men that will understand us both, and can judge between us, I shall willingly deal with him at those weapons: but now our business is something else: It is supposed that we two, whom your Husband and you have chosen, can speak more for the defence of our Religion than you that chose us, and your desire is to know, by hearing our discourse in your own Language, how to rectifie your judgements. Now therefore I will give you a rule, which if you please to remember, you shall be able to discern which of us two have the truth on our side, and it is this:*

The Points we will discourse of shall be such, without some knowledge whereof no man may in an ordinary way attain to the end of his Faith, the salvation of his soul. In these you may easily lose your selves, not onely by *Herefie*, which is a flat denying of them, but by Ignorance also, by a bare not know^{ing} of them. The word of truth contained in the Scriptures, is the

rule both of Faith and Life, common to small and great, concerning these things : Now whilst we keep to the true sense of the Scriptures in these points, you may understand us both ; but when we shall fly to subtle distinctions to evade plain Texts, or flye from the Scriptures to take sanctuary in Authors which you know not, assure your selves that we are at a loss, and seek victory rather than truth. Keep this Rule, *Madam*, in you minde, for this Gentleman dares not deny it to be a true one , and then you will be the better for our meeting. *And now Sir* (said he to the *Jesuit*, her Champion) *I am ready to engage with you in any such points.*

The Dispute was begun , and after a short encounter , the *Jesuit* was driven to those shifts ; whereupon the Primate said , *Madam*, *do you understand my Argument that I propounded to this Gentleman ?* She answered , *Yes*, *and do you* (said he) *understand this Gentlemans answer ?* She answered , *No indeed*, *It is too high for me : But* (said the Primate) *I do, and can answer him in his own way , but then you would not understand me neither : Therefore Sir* (said he to the *Jesuit*) *I pray you help the Lady to understand your answer as she doth my Argument ; then I will further reply.* But it pleased God within a while, so to disable the *Jesuit* from proceeding, that he left the place with shame ; and the Lady by this, and some further endeavours, became not only a good Protestant , but a very gracious woman.

A special Providence,

The success of his Ministry.

The last instance I shall give of the successfulness of his labors, is this, About twelve or thirteen years ago we had an Ordination of Ministers in our seventh *Classis* ;

at

at which time (according to our custome) we called in the young men that were to be Ordained one after an other, and examining of them about the work of Gods Grace in their hearts, three of them acknowledged that they were converted by Gods blessing upon the labours of this our Lord Primate, whilst he preached at *Oxford*, where they then were Students about the beginning of the long Parliament.

Anno Christi 1640, He came out of *Ireland* into *England*, being invited thereto by some eminent persons, wherein the special providence of God did manifest it self for his preservation, it being the year before the Rebellion brake out in *Ireland*; as if (according to the Angels speech to *Lot*) nothing could be done there till he was come hither, and escaped to this his *Zoar*.

A special Providence.

His Library (which was very great) in the first year of the Rebellion, *viz. 1641*, was in *Drogheda*, which place was besieged four moneths by the *Irish* Rebels, and they made no question of taking it, and some of their *Priests* and *Friers* talked much what a prize they should gain by that Libtary; but the barbarous multitude spake of burning it: But it pleased God to hear the Fastings, and Prayers of his people within, and in a wonderful manner to deliver them, and so all his Books and *Manuscripts* were sent him that Summer to *Chester*, and from thence were brought safe to *London*.

The sufferings he now lay under were many and great. All his personal estate was lost, and that which belonged to his *Primacy* in *Ireland* was destroyed, only for the present he was preacher in *Covent Garden*.

His Sufferings

A scandal
clea.ed.

Anno Christi 1641, The great business of the Earle of *Strafford* came in agitation, upon which a scandal was raised of him, by a rash, if not a malicious Pen in his *Vocal Forrest*, as if he had made use of a pretended distinction of a *personal* and *Political* conscience to satisfie the late King that he might consent to the beheading of the said Earle, telling him, that though the first resisted, yet he might do it by the second; but to clear him of this, a person of quality affirmed under his hand, that some years agoe a rumour being spread of the death of this Reverend Prelate (whose loss was much lamented at *Oxford*) when this concerning the Earle was then by one objected against him, the late King answered that person in very great passion, and with an oath Protested his innocency therein. Besides, he left under his owne hand a relation of that whole business, a true Copy whereof followeth.

“That *Sunday* morning wherein the King consulted
“with the four Bishops, viz. of *London*, *Durham*,
“*Lincoln*, and *Carlisle*) the Archbishop of *Armagh*
“was not present, being then preaching, as he then
“accustomed to do, every *Sabbath* in the Church of
“*Covent Garden*, where a message coming to him
“from his Majesty, he descended from the Pulpit,
“and told the Messenger, that he was then, as he
“saw, imployed in Gods business, which as soon as he
“had done, he would attend upon the King to under-
“stand his pleasure: But the King spending the whole
“afternoon in the serious debate of the Lord *Straffords*
“Case with the Lords of his Council, and the Judges
“of the Land, he could not before evening be admitted
“to the Kings presence.

“There

“ There the Question was again agitated, *Whether the King in justice might pass the Bill of Attainder against the Earle of Strafford.* For, that he might shew mercy to him was no Question at all, no man doubting, but that the King without any scruple of conscience might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of State (in which the Bishops were made neither Judges nor Advisers) did not hinder him. The whole result therefore of the Bishops determination, was to this effect; That herein, the matter of Fact, and the matter of Law were to be distinguished; that of the matter of Fact, he himself might make a Judgement, having been present at all the proceedings against the said Lord; where, if upon hearing all the allegations, on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the Crimes where-with he was charged, he could not in justice condemn him. But for the matter in Law, what was Treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the Judges, whole office it was to declare the Law, and who were sworn, therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him and his subjects, &c.

Upon his losses in *Ireland*, and the straits he was brought into here, two Offers were made unto him from Forreign Nations; the one from Cardinal *Rihlien*, onely in relation to his eminent learning, with a promise of large maintenance, and liberty to live where he pleased in *France* amongst the *Protestants*. The other from the States of *Holland*, who proffered him the place of being *Honourarius Professor* at *Leiden*, which had an ample stipend belonging to it; but he refused both.

Offers made
to him from
abroad.

And now by reason of the disturbance of the times he was perpetually removing, having with St. Paul, no certain dwelling place, and some of those evidences mentioned by that great Doctor of the Gentiles to prove himself to be the Minister of Christ, were applicable to him, 2 Cor. 6. 3, &c. *In much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses, in tumults, or tossings to and fro; in labours, in watchings, and fastings. By honour and dishonour: by evil report, and good report: as deceivers, and yet true: as unknown, and yet well known: as dying, and behold we live: as chastened and not killed: as sorrowful, and yet alwayes rejoicing: as poor, yet making many rich: as having nothing, and yet possessing all things, &c.*

He goes to
Oxford.

Anno Christi 1642, He obtained leave of both Houses of Parliament to go to Oxford for his study in that Library. *Anno Christi 1644*, the late King coming thither, he preached before him on the fifth of November. His Text was *Nehem. 4. 11. And our Adversaries said, they shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst amongst them, and slay them, and cause their work to cease.* In his Sermon he advised his hearers to put no repose in the Papists, who (saith he) upon the first opportunity will serve us here, as they have done the poor Protestants in Ireland, which much offended some that were there present.

And into
Wales.

In March following he went from thence into Wales to Cardiff in Glamorganshire, where for a time, he abode with his Daughter: But *Septem. 16. Anno Christi 1645*, he removed from thence to St. Donnets (the Lady Stradlings) and by the way meeting with some Souldiers, they used him barbarously, plucked him

He is abused
by Souldiers.

him off his horse, and brake open two of his Trunks full of Books, taking them all away: amongst these he lost two *Manuscripts* of the History of the *Waldenses*, most of his Books he recovered again; but these *Manuscripts*, though the meanliest clad, he could never hear of, which gave suspicion that some *Priest* or *Jesuit* had lighted upon them. The loss of them grieved him much, they being of use to him for the finishing of that Book, *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione, & statu.*

Not long after he fell into a painful sickness, wherein he bled four dayes together, so that he swooned, and all hope of life was past, and a rumour was spread abroad that he was dead, which occasioned grief to many; and it was so far believed at Court, that a Letter came over for a successor in his Primacy in *Ireland*: But it pleased God that he recovered, and *June 11, Anno Christi 1646*, he came to *London*, where the Countess of *Peterborough* gladly received him.

After a while he was chosen to be preacher to the Honourable Society of *Lincolns Inne*, where he continued divers years with great honour, and respect from them, till at the last, losing his sight, so that he could not read his Text, and his strength decaying, he was advised by his friends to forbear, and to reserve himself, and the remainder of his strength for the writing of Books, which were yet expected from him. No spectacles could help his sight, onely when the Sun shone he could see at a window, which he hourly followed from room to room in the house of his abode: In Winter the casement was often set open for him to write at. This Summer he conceived would be the last,

His Sickness.

He is chosen to
Lincolns Inn,

His last Sermon.

last, wherein he should make use of his eyes; the Winter following he intended to have an *Amannensis* to write for him, and a competent salary was intended for him whom he should choose to that work: But the Lord was pleased to prevent it by taking him to the sight of himself.

After he had left *Lincolns Inne*, he was prevailed with to preach in several places, as in *Graies Inne*, Nov. 5. Anno 1654, which he then thought might have been his last Sermon, and it was taken as an honour by that Honourable Society, whereof he had been admitted a member at a Reading above thirty years before: He preached also at the Temple at Mr. *Seldens* Funeral, and at two other places in the City, both which the Lord was pleased to make very effectual in the conversion of divers that were his hearers: And indeed seldome did the Sword drawn by him return empty. The last Sermon which he preached was about *Michelmas*, Anno 1655, at *Hammer-smith*.

He complained that he was much troubled, finding himself unable to continue his Ministry; his thoughts were on it in the day, and his dreams in the night, and though he had been a preacher about fifty and five years, and so, like the *Levites* might well be excused from this service of the Sanctuary, and have imployed himself (as his manner was) in directing of others, yet he resolved, if God continued his life the Summer following, to return to it again in some small Church or Chappel.

He sought not great things for himself: In the time of his distress by reason of his losses in *Ireland*, the Par-

Parliament for some years was bountiful to him ; but the two last years of their sitting, it fell out to be suspended. But after they were dissolved, the care of him was renewed by the Lord Protector , by whose Order a constant competent allowance was given him, which was continued till his death, besides very considerable summes extraordinary.

All that knew him, found him very communicative, not onely of his studies for the advantage of their mindes, but of part of his stipend, for the relief of their bodies ; and indeed in works of charity he more needed a bridle, than a spur.

He was not so severe in his judgement about Episcopacy, as to disown other Reformed Churches, but declared that he loved and honoured them, as true members of the Church universal, and was ready for the Ministers of *Holland, France, &c.* to testifie his Communion with them.

He was a man of a most exemplary moderation, meekness, humility, and ingenuity. *Anno 1641*, he drew up an Expedient to accommodate some of our differences in *Ecclesiastical Affairs*, which some moderate men of both parties were ready to subscribe. But in matters of Doctrine for the substantials, it was often his charge, that Ministers should not preach any thing, as to please men, but God, who hath put them in trust, *1 Thess. 2. 4.* For such as seek to please men, are not the servants of Christ, *Gal. 1. 10.* And in defence of those truths, no man was more resolute and constant than he, *not giving place by way of subjection, nor not for an hour, Gal. 2. 5.* but in 'circumstantials, he thought it to be our duty with *St. Paul*, to please all men, and not our selves,

His Charity.

He owns other Reformed Churches.

A Peace maker.

His Zeal.

selves, in all such things, 1 Cor. 10. 31. *to edification and concord*. He was in these things alwayes the same, *holding fast the form of sound words in Doctrine and practice* to the last.

His Humility.

The night before he left *London*, Oh ! the humble expressions he used of his own unworthiness, demeaning himself as if he had been the least of Saints, which he uttered with many tears : He wished those about him to prepare for afflictions and trials, which he was perswaded, were not far from them. Having abode at *London* one and fifty dayes, for so it was punctually noted by himself in a Book, it being his custome, with *David* so to number his dayes, both for the place where, and the manner how he spent them, he returned to *Rygate*, Feb. 13. 1655, to the Countess of *Peterboroughs*.

His last Sickness.

March the 20 following, was the first day of his sickness, upon which day (as every day) he had been well busied. Most part of it, as long as he had light, he had spent at his study, proceeding in his *Chronologia sacra*, clearing all the doubts in his *Annals* of the Bible, in which he had gone as far as to the Book of *Judges*, where the last words he wrote were these, *Hic praterea notandum*, but returned not to make any further progress. From his study he went to visit a sick Gentlewoman in that Family, and prescribed to her most excellent preparatives for death, with other most holy advice in practical matters, in which he spent three quarters of an hour, but in such an heavenly manner, as if, like *Moses* upon Mount *Nebo*, his eyes had been strengthened to take a prospect of the heavenly *Canaan*.

That

That night about eight a clock, he first complained of his hip, judging it to be a spice of the *Sciatica*, which he had been troubled with about five and thirty years before, contracted by sitting up late in the College Library at *Dublin*; but by the application of an ointment, he was presently eased of that pain, so that he took some rest that night. In the morning he complained of a great pain in his side, whereupon a *Physitian* was sent for, who used such means as he judged fit for him; but the pain continuing, and his spirits decaying, he wholly addicted himself to prayer, only upon the abating of the torment, he advised those about him, in health to prepare for sickness, and death, that then they might have nothing else to do but to dye; and after a short settlement of the things of this world, he took great content in his approaching death.

A Minister there present assisted him with his prayers, but afterwards he desired to be left to his own private. The last words he was heard to utter which was about one a clock in the afternoon, and a little before his death) were these, praying for the forgiveness of his sins, he added, *But Lord in special forgive my sins of Omission*: Herein he had his wish, which he often used, that he might dye as holy Mr. *Perkins* did, which expired with crying for mercy and forgiveness.

His Death.

But did he pray for pardon of his sins of Omission? and yet he was a person that was never known to omit an hour, but was alwayes employed in his Masters business, either in preaching, reading, writing, or hearing others (as of late) to read to him; either resolving doubts, or exhorting, instructing, and counselling such as came to visit him; yet did he dye with

this humble expreffion, *Lord forgive my fins of Omiffion.* A fpeech that may give us all matter of folemn meditation, and imitation.

March the 21. Anno Chrifti 1655, this glorious Sun fet, and from earth was tranflated to Heaven, having been Primate of *Ireland* juft one and thirty years, and a Preacher five and fifty years, and having lived about feventy five years. What he had to leave was only his Library, and divers imperfect Copies of his intended Works, which death prevented his finifhing of.

His Funeral.

The Lord Protector (as he was then called) gave him an honourable burial at the publick charge, in the Chappel of *Henry* the feventh at *Westminfter*, and extended to his, what was before intended for himfelf in the grant of fome of the Lands belonging to the Primacy of *Armagh* for the terme of one and twenty years.

His learning
admired.

He was highly admired, and much honoured by all the famous Lights of his time through the Chriftian world. *Spanhemius* Divinity-Profeflor at *Geneva*; *Anno Chrifti 1639*, in his Epiftle Dedicatory to him, before his third Part *Dubiorum Evangelicorum*, fpend above two leaves in extolling him: Some of his expreffions are; *Your very great parts, Moft excellent Usher, are known, not onely within your own Country, but in ours, and wherefoever elfe there is honour given to Piety, or price fet upon learning, &c.* He fpeaks much of his Charity to ftrangers, his Humility, Piety, Works, his Library, of which he made fuch ufe for the publick good, that it was not fo much his own as the Library of all learned men: *In a word (faith he) the name of Usher with us is a name of Piety*
and

and Vertue, it is of great Renowne at our Geneva, &c.

Gerard Vossius frequently admires him as a man of vast learning, worthy of an everlasting Monument. *The high merits* (saith he) *of this most excellent, and throughout most learned man, both of the Church, and of the whole Commonwealth of Learning, deserve an everlasting grateful memory: A man so excelling in the knowledge both of Humane and Divine things, that I cannot speak any thing so high of him, but his worth doth surpass it.*

Boshartus and Simplicius, call him frequently, *Magnum Usherium, Usher the Great.*

Morus in his Oration at Geneva dedicated to him, styles him, *The most Excellent servant of God, The most Reverend man of God, the Athanasius of our Age. Thy breast* (saith he) *is a breathing Library: Thou art to Britain as Austin was to Hippo: Farewel Britains great Honour.*

Ludovicus de Dieu in his Animadversions on the *Acts*, dedicated to him, entitles him, *To the Excellent Prelate, worthy of an Eternal memory, &c.*

Paulus Testardus Blesensis styles him, *Seculi, & Ecclesie decus eximium*, the greatest honour of the Church and Age.

Arnoldus Bootius, saith of him, *That he did excel with a most singular Judgement in the Oriental Languages, and in all other abstruse, and deep learning: Venerable to all Europe, whose Authority prevails much with all men, &c.*

Mr. Selden saith of him, *The most Reverend Prelate James Usher, a man of great Piety, singular Judge-*

ment, learned to a Miracle, and born to promote the more severe studies, &c.

Dr. Prideaux calls him, *The most rich Magazine of solid Learning, and of all Antiquity.*

Dr. Davenant speaks thus of him, *A man of singular Piety, abounding with all manner of Learning.*

Sir Roger Twisden acknowledging the assistance he had from him in his History, saith thus, *This we owe to the most worthy Archbishop of Armagh, in whom, with incredible learning, and rare knowledge of Antiquity, his most courteous conversation, and wonderful sweetness, in instructing the unskilful, mixed with a certain serious Episcopal gravity, were seen to strive one with the other, &c.*

His Character

There was an eminent Character given of him by a the whole University of Oxford in the year 1644, by solemn Order in the Convocation, which was given in charge to sixteen eminent persons, of whom seven were Doctors chosen with the Vice-Chancellor & Proctors, to see his *Effigies* cut, and an *Elogium* worthy of him, to be prefixed to his Annotations on *Ignatius* his Epistles (there then in the Press) and at the charges of the University, and in the publick name of it. Indeed it was omitted to that book, but was afterwards affixed to his Book *De Symbolis*; the *Elogium* is this, *James Usher Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland, the most skilful of Primitive Antiquity, the unanswerable Defender of the Orthodox Religion, the Maul of Errors, in preaching frequent, eloquent, very powerful, a rare example of an unblameable life.*

His learning
acknowledged
by Papists.

Yea for his learning, his very Adversaries being Judges, those of the Church of Rome have acknowledged.

ledged. A certain *Jesuit* in a Book called *Hybernia Vindicta*, writing against *Dempster*, a *Scotchman*, who had undervalued the *Irish* for learning, after he had reckoned up many Learned men of his own, and other Orders of that Nation, at length he addes this of our Primate, *And if I should put in men of a different Religion, I might truly say, Scotland never saw another Usher, whose sublime wit, and most courteous behaviour, I wish that unlucky education amongst Sectaries had not been his stepmother.* Divers others of his *Papish* Adversaries might be mentioned, but I forbear, and shall add onely the Testimony of *Dr. William Chappel*, sometime Fellow of *Christ's College* in *Cambridge*, and afterwards Provost of *Trinity College, Dublin*, who was very judicious, and a great learned man: He gave three reasons why he thought our Primate to be the greatest Schollar in the Christian world.

1. Because of his rare natural parts, having a quick invention, a prompt wit, a strong memory, a clear understanding, a piercing judgement, and a ready utterance. *Seldome* (said he) *do all these meet in an eminent degree in the same person; but in him they so concurred, that it is hard to say in which of them he most excelled.*

2. Because few men had made so rich an improvement of these parts; nor indeed had such means, by reason of the choice Libraries which he had the use of, *viz.* his own, *Dr. Challoners*, the University Library at *Dublin*, which he had frequent access unto, besides the University Libraries, and *Sir Robert Cottons* in *England*. He had also taken indefatigable pains in studying, and that for many years

to-

together, which few other mens bodies and brains could bear.

3. Because in these, and in the Universities beyond the Seas, he was so esteemed; and whosoever conversed with him, found him a skilful Linguist, a subtile Disputant, a fluent Orator, a profound Divine, a great Antiquary, an exact *Chronologer*; and in brief, a living, and walking Library: Inomuch that the greatest Professors admired the concatenation of so much learning in one person.

A Catalogue of the Books published by him.

De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione & statu, in 4°.

Epistolarum Hybernicarum Sylloge, in 4°.

Historia Goteschalci, in 4°.

De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britanicarum, in 4°.

Ignatii Epistola cum annotationibus, in 4°.

De Anno Solari, Macedonum, in 8°.

Annales Veteris Testamenti in Fol.

Annales Novi Testamenti, &c. in Fol.

Epistola ad Cappellum de variantibus textus Hebraicis lectionibus, in 4°.

De Græca Septuaginta Interpretum versione Syntagma, in 4°.

A Sermon before the House of Commons, Feb. 18. 1618.

A Declaration of the Visibilty of the Church, in a Sermon before King James, June 20. 1624.

A Speech in the Castle in Dublin the 22 of Nov. 1622.

An Answer to Malon the Jesuit, in 4°. 1631.

The Religion professed by the antient Irish and British, in 4°. 1631.

Im-

Immanuel, or *The Incarnation of the Son of God*, in 4°. 1639.

A *Geographical Description of the lesser Asia*, in 4°. 1644.

Confessions and Proofs of Dr. Reynolds, and other Protestant Divines about Episcopacy, in 4°. 1644.

A *Discourse of the Original of Bishops, and Archbishops*, in 4°. 1644.

His small Catechisme reviewed, in 12°. 1654.

His Body of Divinity, in part his, but published without his consent, in Fol.

A *Method for Meditation, or a Direction for hearing the Word*.

Annals of the Old and New Testament, with the Synchronismes of Heathen Story to the destruction of Jerusalem, in Fol.

The Life and Death of Mr.
Richard Capel, who dyed
Anno Christi 1656.

His Birth, and
Parentage.

Mr. Richard Capel was born in the City of Gloucester, Anno Christi 1586, of good Parentage, descended from an ancient Family of the Gentry of his own name, in Herefordshire, and of alliance to the Lord Capel, (but he had learned with brave Philpot, to tread that under his feet.) His Father was a stout man, and an Alderman of that City; a fast friend, first to Mr. Thomas Prior, and afterwards to Mr. John Workman, (having had a principall hand in drawing of him thither) both of them men of great sufficiency for the preaching of the Gospel, and instruments that the Lord made much use of, for the advancement of the true saving knowledge of himself, and for the setting up of the reall, and substantiall power of godliness in that City, during the time that they exercised their Ministry there. His elder Brother yet lives, and is an Alderman in that place.

His Education.

His Preferment at Oxford

After he had been trained up at School, and well fitted for it, he was sent to the University of Oxford, where his diligence, and proficiency was such, that he was chosen Fellow of Magdalen-Colledge, and had the breeding up of some there, who afterwards proved excellent, and eminent Scholars: as Dr. Frewen, (who was alwayes a thankfull man to him for his education)

cation) and famous Mr. *Pemle*, who ended his dayes at his house, &c. His attendance at Court upon the chiefest favourite (in the dayes of that learned King *James*) gave him opportunity of advancement, if his thoughts had been bent that way: but he sought not great things for himself; yet continued at Court till the death of Sr. *Thomas Overbury*, that learned Knight, and his very good friend, and then he bad adieu to that course of life.

His attendance at Court.

As for his inward storms they were very many, and exceeding bitter, (which also were accompanied with many bodily infirmities, which attended him in his younger years) but it was well for him that he bore the yoke in his youth: and there was none that knew so much of his temptations and desertions, as that eminent, and learned Divine, Dr. *Harris*, by reason of that intimate acquaintance he had with him in those dayes (being his kinsman) which also was occasioned the more, by the often recourse he had then into those parts, for the fetching of some spirituall refreshing from that man of God, Mr. *John Dod*, who was both able, and willing to *speake a word in season to a broken and contrite heart*.

His Temptations.

For the eminency of his parts, there were very few that could match him. The most, even of our most high-flown Eagles, have commonly some peculiar gift wherein they most excell, and by it do very good service to Christ, and his Church: but this man had grasped all good learning, and made every thing his own so evenly to see to, that he was very expert in the same, and would (with *Cato* the elder) be up in the height, in all that ever he was to act in.

His excellent parts.

Melancthon used to say that *Pomeranus* was the *Gramarian*: that himself was the *Logician*: that *Justus Jonas* was the *Orator*: but that *Luther* was all in all: here was one that was not inferior to *Luther*. If he pleased to turn to the School, or to Case-Divinity: to *Augustine*, or *Chrysostome*: to *Galen*, or *Hippocrates*: to *Aristotle*, or *Tully*: to *History*, or *Philosophy*: to *Arts*, or *Tongues*: who could tell but himself, which of them he was best versed in? He was a very living Library, a full storehouse of all kind of good literature, no less than a little University, the mirror of these parts, and above the envy of most. The least draught of his *Pencil*, would have told any *Protophages*, he had been the *Apelles*. He excelled in all that ever he would set his hand to, unless it were in his utterance in the publick Congregation, and therein indeed he had a great defectiveness.

His knowledge of the times.

God gave him great understanding of the times to know what *Israel* ought to do. He stood upon the Watch-tower, and saw what was hid from most mens eyes; and being quick of sent, in the fear of the Lord, he gave timely notice to some that stood in place: which had it been heeded, we had never been so fearfully pestered with those *Hydraes* heads that are now starting up afresh daily to the great disturbance of our people.

Simier said of *Melancthon* at his going from the University of *Tubing*, that none of the learned men there, how many soever they were, had so much learning, as to know the great learning that was in that man. Too too many amongst us were even sick of the same disease, that knew not the depth that was in this mans breast.

breſt. There were many men in this one man, even all Scholarship epitomized in this profound *Clerk*: and yet for all this, he had that great bleſſing, which he himſelf obſerved as a ſingular favour vouchſafed to Dr. *John Reynolds*, that great Oracle of *Oxford*, that he never ſet on foot any manner of new opinion.

A univerſal
Schollar.

The like is obſerved of learned Dr. *Whitaker*, ſtiled the Oracle of *Cambridge*, and the miracle of the world. A mercy that moſt men of ſuperlative parts uſe not to be too rich in. There is ſcarce any ſtrong brain, without ſome ſtrong fancy. If the great wits of our times had kept themſelves cloſe to the ſteps of theſe rare Divines, we had never ſeen the ſorrows that we now ſigh, and groan under, and would be glad to be rid of if we knew how.

His-Mod.ſty.

For the excellency of his preaching he excelled moſt men. He was an *Interpreter one of a thouſand*. His underſtanding was ſtrangely opened, for the underſtanding and opening the Scriptures. He would bolt out that out of the holy Book of God, that would not come into any other mans conſideration; yet it ſhould be genuine, and evidently appearing to be the drift, and meaning of the Holy Ghoſt.

Hi excellent
Preaching.

An intelligent man could never ſit at his feet, or be in his company, but he ſhould meet with that there that would never fall from any other mans mouth, nor ever drop from any other mans Pen. His words were as *Goads*, and as *Nails faſtened by the Maſter of the Aſſemblies*. They were edged with ſo much reaſon, re-enforced from the lively Oracles, that they could not fall to the ground in vain. It's no marvell therefore that the Cream of the whole Country where he

Hi's communi-
cations.

His plain
preaching.

lived (as they could have opportunity) would hang upon his Ministry.

Yet he used to be very plain in all his expressions. He would not deliver what he had from God in an unknown tongue, nor yet in words, and phrases which were too sp.uce, and trim. He had learned his lesson well of that great Apostle, and Doctor of the *Gentiles*, who *came not with enticing words*: nor with any other, but such as the very *Catechumens*, the youngest beginners might understand. He kept close to the footsteps of our choicest Worthies: as famous Mr. *Dod* (who used to say, that so much *Latine* was so much flesh in a Sermon) Mr. *Cleaver*, Mr. *Hilderfam*, and such other holy men of God, led by the self same Spirit. He would deliver the whole, and wholesome truths of God, in such an holy, and wholesome way, that it bred very good blood in the hearts of his hearers. He would stoop so low as to speak to the poor Country people in their own proper dialect, so as they could not but even see, and feel, and find out God, and be occasioned to speak of him all the week after. If he met with a deep mystery, he would make it plain to the shallowest capacity. Whatever Subject he fell upon, he would handle it so Divine-like, that the hearts of his Auditors would be wrapt up into Heaven, whilst they heard him winding, and turning a point of Divinity, like a workman that needed not to be ashamed.

Note.

Whereas, now adayes, whilst some of our great Divines, seem to be too much taken up with quaint, and *Historicall* flourishes, there is a sensible decay of the power of God amongst us. An *Exotick*, or strange

strange-tongue in the publick Congregation (what-ever men think of it) is set out as a sign of Gods displeasure, 1 *Cor.* 14. 21, 22. It feeds such humors as should rather be purged out. It had no good effect in the Church of *Corinth*. Mens wits will waxe wanton, when they be not over-awed by the plain power of Gods Word. When Preachers keep not close to the very words of our Lord Jesus Christ, 1 *Tim.* 6. 3. and to the *Doctrine that is according to godlines*: but love to be tampering with another Doctrine, though not with another in the main; but even in the manner of delivery only, (as when it favours too much of the pomp of humane eloquence (saith *Calvin*) when it differs from the stile of the Holy Ghost, (saith *Danaus*) the people be in danger of turning aside to vain jangling, to perverse disputings, desiring to be teachers, and such like matters. The Gold upon the Pill may please the eye; but it profits not the patient. The Paint upon the Glass may feed the fancy; but the room is the darker for it. The Sword of Gods Spirit can never wound so deep, as when it's plucked out of these gaudy Scabbards. Nakedness deforms too too many in these dayes; but it is the best garnishing, and Ornament the truth can have. A sober dress best becomes a grave Matron. There be words as well as things which the *Holy Ghost teacheth*, 1 *Cor.* 2. 13. The Arrows fetched out of Gods own Quiver will pierce the deepest, and make the people fall the soonest under Christ. *The weakness of God is stronger than men. Pauls weapons were mighty.* The sincere milk of Gods Word will make Christs Babes to grow best.

This

This curious age is too too much given to the affectation of words, and phrases, and cadencies: and holy Dr. *Sibs* was wont to say, that great affectation, and good affections seldome goe together. The *swelling words of vanity* may tickle the ear, tip the tongue, and please in matters of discourse: but when it comes to push of Pike, they afford but little comfort. Mr. *Capel* had another manner of wisdom than that of words. *He was an able Minister of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the Spirit*, that hath given, doth give, and will give life, 2 Cor. 3. 6. Having this hope then, he *used great plainness of speech*: and by the manifestation of the truth, *he commended himself to every mans conscience in the sight of God*, and thereby hath so well seasoned the Country where he lived, that the fruit of it (without doubt) will remain, and be seen many years after.

His fervent
Prayers.

His Prayers were lively, and fervent. He was a man that had a very large measure of that *Spirit of grace*, which is a *Spirit of Supplication*. He was so well fitted with abilities to open his mind to God, as if (with blessed *Bradford*) he had been almost ever upon his knees. He could tell his own errand, or any other mans, at the Throne of grace, with as good freedome, and to as good purpose, as any man living. He would not *be rash with his mouth* when he came before God, nor set out what he had to say there, with painted eloquence, or Court-like complement: but his mouth used to be filled with such savoury Arguments, as very well became an humble Suppliant. He was far from those *battologies*, and miserable extravagancies, that too many prayers are stuffed with. He would

would pour out his soul to God at all manner of times, upon all manner of occasions, with all manner of Prayer, and Supplication, and with that admirable variety of all sorts of quickening and feeling meditations, that it would even ravish the hearts of those who had the happiness to be partakers with him therein.

Yet for all this, he was clear in his opinion for the lawfulness of the use of set Forms of Prayer, according to the tenet of all our best, and most judicious Divines, and according to the practice of all Churches, even the best reformed, saith Mr. Rogers, now, and in all former ages. So saith Mr. Hildersam: yea, and Mr. Smith himself saith upon the *Lords Prayer* (though as then he was warping, and afterwards wandred far in the wayes of Separation) that it was the practice of the ancient Church, and of all the Reformed Churches in *Christendome*: of the Churches immediately after the Apostles; nay (saith he) of the Church in the time of the Apostles, as may probably be gathered out of *1 Cor. 14. 26.* This hath also been the practice of the best lights that ever were set up in the Churches of Christ. It is very well known that the flower of our own Divines went on in this way, when they might have done otherwise if they had pleased, in their Prayers before their Sermons. Nay, Mr. Dod himself would seldome end his devotions in his own Family but with the use of the *Lords Prayer*. Nay yet more, Mr. Cartwright (*Hist. Christ. p. 3. p. 535.*) thinks it very probable that Christ his own self made use of a set Form at meales.

Set forms of
Prayer lawful.

It is not good to cast stones of offence in the way of our weak Brethren, who being of meaner parts, want

ability, memory, and audacity to conceive Prayer, especially before others, that they be not taken off from, nor disheartened in this so comfortable, and necessary a service of God: nor may we lay a trap, or snare for our own feet. Who knoweth what times may pass over him? If God should plunge us into the Ditch, and leave us labouring in the noose, the loftiest of us all may be faine to take relief from, and to make use of these poor contemptible props, and crutches (as some deem, and call them) When the soul is so troubled that it cannot speak; but *Chatter* only, like a *Crane*, and *Swallow*, *Psalm*. 77. 4. When it is so full of grief that it can do no more than sigh, and groan, and make a confused noise, as *Psalm*. 55. 2. it will then be glad to catch at any thing to give it self vent by. *Dr. Harris* tells us of a second *Bradford*, that in time of his distress, was faine to adopt *Mr. Bradfords* words, and to spread them before God as his own, because he had said more for him (as he thought) than he could say for himself. I knew (saith mine Author) a rare, and eminent Divine indeed, that would be as often upon his knees as any man that ever I conversed with, that would sometimes be in such damps, that had no more to set before God to give his heart ease by, than the words of *David* in the one and fiftieth *Psalm*. Well might then this knowing Divine of ours, that had been so tossed with tempests, be tender of that, that might be so usefull for poor trembling hearts in a stormy day.

Get to God therefore as thou canst. Sad judgements be upon our people. Spirituall judgements are the

the forest judgements. What if thou hast but the same words? as Christ, *Mat. 26. 44.* thou maist be heard as he was, *Heb. 10. 11.* The song of *Moses* was a *new Song*, because tendered to God with new affections, *Rev. 14. 3. & 15. 3.* What if thy petitions be broken, and confused? as *Exod. 14. 10, 11, 12.* *This poor man cried*, saith *David*, *Psal. 34. 6.* when he was in a poor case indeed, like a *Bedlam*, *1 Sam. 21. 13.* and yet he was heard.

The little lisping children have sometimes a grant of their requests, when those that are of greater maturity seem to be set aside. Whilst *Moses* held up his hands (though in a poor way) *Israel* prevailed. Who can tell what God may do? *Abraham* left asking, ere God left granting, even for a filthy *Sodome*. Remember *Mr. Latimers*, once againe, once againe: Tug, and wrestle. We may come to see, and our people may bee made to know, that their heart is turned backe againe to the God of their Fathers, *1 King. 18. 37.* But to return to Master *Capel*.

He was of a sound, and settled judgement. He pitched at first upon a good foundation, and being *nourished up in the words of Faith*, he continued in the things he had learned, and been well assured of, *knowing from whom he had received them*, as *1 Tim. 4. 6.* He was well grounded in his opinion: one that stood like a brazen wall, as firm as a very Rock in the middest of all the dashings and clashings of tempestuous times. He saw with a clear eye through all the painted glosses of those that were given to change; and therefore was not moved at all with any thing that was said or done

His sound
judgement.

His constancy

in that kinde; he was true to his Religion, and clave close all along to his first principles, *holding fast the Faith that was once*, and (as he himself would often expresse it) but once *delivered to the Saints*. He lived and dyed a true Orthodox Divine, according to the known Doctrine of the Church of *England*. He knew full well, for all the great talk of the Gospel, as though it were but newly dropt out of the clouds, that there is not any other Gospel, but the *everlasting Gospel*, Rev. 14. 8. that was preached before unto *Abraham*, Gal. 3. 8. and hath been entertained all along still by Gods faithful people, and shall be so continually to the end of the world. Yet some there be that are no mean pretenders to the Gospel, and notwithstanding the same, are in great danger of perverting the Gospel of Jesus Christ, as *Gal. 1. 7*.

This constant, and stable man was set up as a sure Sea-mark. Let us stand to his steps though we stand alone. God and a good conscience are alwayes good company. *Elijah* was but one, yet did he very good service. One *Athanasius* in the *East*, one *Hilary* in the *West*, was of mighty great use in a staggering time. What if we meet with storms. It is but a poor Religion that is not worth suffering for. It will *turn to a Testimony*, Luke 21. 13. When the wilde humour is spent, men will return home again. A Statue of *Mercury* will be looked upon then, Those poor silly souls that be tossed to and fro, and whirled about, and about again *with every wind of Doctrine*, Eph. 4. 14. will be glad of such a sight in the day of their visitation, whereas they which know, or should know more of God, be not steddly in their steering, but vary in their course,

The danger of
inconstancy in
Religion,

course, poor bewildred hearts will be at their wits ends, not knowing which way to turn, nor to whom to go, nor whom to walk after.

As there is but one God, so there is but one *Faith*, & one *Baptisme*, and one way to eternal life, and one Rule for us all to walk by, why be we not then all of one heart? why walk we not all in one tract? So many men as we see, so many mindes there be. Every moneth almost produceth a new Faith. It is easie to swim with the Tyde: To perswade the heart of the rectitude of that that is favoured by the times, and yet to pretend still that it is from more light. We may talk of the Spirit, but its certain that *Schisme* is a *fruit of the Flesh*. The *old way is the good way*, Jer. 18. 15. He shall stumble, and ensnare his feet that swerves from the antient paths. What is got by gadding? Men itch for change still, and there is no rest but with *our first Husband*, Hof. 2. 7. It is good to be all of one minde in God. Where there is not unity in Judgement, there is scarce unity in affections. We are too fierce against such as close not with our Notions. It was *Bell, Book, and Candle* once: It is not much better now. Wilde fire flies amain: We cannot all cut to a thread, there will be some variation in the Compass: But whilst we aim at the white, the odds is to be passed by without bitterness. Why should there be such huge Rents and Divisions in the Church? Where is our mutual forbearance? We have not yet learned our Lesson well, to wait one for another till God shall reveal it, *Phil. 3. 15*. Whilst we be so sharp in our contests, Satan makes his Markets: Religion goes to wrack; our differences are widened. Some are ready

How to be
constant
therein.

to give up all, seeing there is no better Harmony: Others could well wish themselves out of the world, that they might be delivered (as *Melancthon* said) from the implacable difference, even amongst some Divines. Oh! that we could hearken unto God, who would have the truth followed, but in love, *Eph. 4.15*. If the Word will not prevaile, the Cross will come, and make a *Hooper*, and a *Ridley* imbrace one another.

Let us fall upon that one, and onely solid way of God, it will ever be our glory. Get we to God, he can stablish our unresolved hearts, *2 Cor. 1.21*. See that the judgement be so rightly set, *1 J. 3.6*. and the heart so firmly knit to God, and his Truth, and then we shall not waver. Tamper not with opinions, *2 Pet. 3.17*. nor with opiniative men, *1 Tim. 5.6. Rom. 16.17, 18*. Nor yet with Books that scatter Tares. This grave, and prudent Divine gives a very good caution to this purpose in his *Treatise of Temptations*, from famous Mr. *Dod*, a man of vast experience. *An honest heart may be sorely puzzled with a forked Argument*. The Martyr could dye for Christ, that could not dispute for him. Some pretend that they must try all things: But they speak besides the Book. Who will try Ratsbane, or a sharp Sword whether it will pierce into his bowels? Some think that they can withdraw when they see danger; but Satan is subtle: Venome will get in before we be aware, and error will stick, and eat like a *Gangrene*. What gets the Fly that playes with the Candle? They that nibble at the bait, shall hardly escape the hook. Again, gingle not with tearms that be improper in matters of Religion; they favour of singularity, breed rents and divisions between Preachers

ers and people, and take off the minde from things more essential. Learned men have observed, that *Hereticks* gat great advantage by the unwary speeches of the Fathers. Some of *Calvins* expressions that were not so well pondered, have done no great good to some in our times. *Nestorius* fell into his *Heresie* by defending an improper speech of his; and *Eutyches* thinking to mend it, fell into the other extream. *Dr. Thomas Tailor* speaks much to this point to very good purpose in his *Progress to Holiness*, p. 134, 135, 154. and concludes, that if we will keep the faith of our Fathers, we must keep the words of our Fathers.

Our *Mr. Capel* was a man of a single heart: He was (with *Jacob*, Gen. 25. 27.) a plain man, i.e. A downright honest man, as the Original signifies. A very *Nathaniel*, an *Israelite* indeed, *Joh. 1. 47. in whom*, though there was some infirmity, yet *there was no guile*. He had much of the *wisdome that is from above*, and was as far from Hypocrisie as most men living. If all others were of his temper, *Momus* had no need to complain of the want of a window into any mans breast. He was what he was indeed, and in truth, without dissimulation: He was very high in his conformity to those *Primitive Christians*, *Act. 2. 46.* and left a brave President to all that would be what they should be in this particular.

We of this doubting and deceitful Generation had need to look about us, and see what was here set before us in very legible Characters, that we may learn to be more above board in our dealings. We are fallen into an age, like that of the Prophets, wherein every one

His single-heartedness.

Hypocrisie complained of

one hath too much of the Hypocrite. We may well cry, *Help Lord, for the faithful fail: with a double Heart and double tongue do they speak.* The most be for all Tides and Times, as mutable as the Weather-cock: For any manner of *Mode*, so as they can serve their own turns by it. Some can be any thing but what they should be. We have need to *beware of men* where every brother will supplant. *The Hypocrite with his mouth destroyes his Neighbour*, Prov. 11. 9. It is indeed good to be *wise as Serpents*, but withall we should be *innocent as Doves*. Though it be just with God that the deceiver shall be deceived, and some like it well, yet is it not just in those that do it. They that *turn aside to crooked wayes*, shall be led forth with the workers of iniquity, Psal. 125. 5.

Plain dealing is a Jewel, yea though it be in sin, as this acute man tells us, in his *Tentat.* Part. 3. Its a dainty fine thing in our confessions, repentance, and in all wherein we act. He that useth it (what ever men say or think) shall neither live, nor dye a beggar. Downright honesty is the best policy. It is delightful to God, Prov. 12. 22. and it will be a comfort to us, 2 Cor. 1. 12. *This is our rejoycing*, and we never eat our meat with more gladness, than when we do all with *singleness of heart*, Act. 2. 46.

His Usefulness

Mr. Capel was a very useful man in his life. He was (with *Melancthon*) born for the common good, and lived for the publick benefit of the whole Country.

Whilst he was at his Pastoral charge, he gave himself fully, and wholly to Reading, to Exhortation, and Doctrine; and his *profiting* appeared unto all men: so that he was generally, and that justly reputed a man

ap-

approved of God, rightly dividing the word of truth:

It is well known what pains he took, and to how good purpose, during the whole time of his abode there, which was about one and twenty years. He preached constantly twice every Lords day; and besides preached a Lecture constantly every week, though he had but an infirm body, till by reason of sickness he was taken off: And then besides his *Sabbath*-dayes work, he preached onely upon the Festival dayes. His lips were *touch'd with a coal from the Altar*. It may truly be said of him, as it was of *Musculus*, that his words pierced like a two-edged sword. He could when he pleased be a *Boanerges*, a son of Thunder; but his bent was most to be a *Barnabas*, a son of Consolation. He was a true *Evangelical* Preacher, and comforted many a drooping heart by his labours in publick, and gave abundance of satisfaction in private to many troubled spirits that used to resort to him out of all Countries, both far and near.

He also shewed himself to be a Tree of Gods own planting, by *bringing forth more fruit still in his age*. When the times were such (some flying so extreemly high, the Ceremonies being pressed with rigour, and grievous penalties inflicted) that he (being tender in matters of Conformity) must needs quit his Pastoral charge, which was *Novem. 27. 1634*, he betook himself then to his little Cell (as *Samuel* did to his *Ramah*) that had never been looked upon if he had not come thither (no more than *Islebiun*, and *Bretta*, if not for *Luther* and *Melancthon*) and there he had more health and cheerfulness of spirit than formerly,

M m

which

His frequent
preaching.

He leaves the
Min &ry

at *Pitchcombe*.

He practiseth
Physick.

which he improved well for the publick advantage:
For,

There he fell upon the Practice of *Physick*. He indeed had bent his studies that way before hand (foreseeing what would follow) yet would he do nothing in that kinde (it not being his Calling) so long as that great work of the Ministry lay upon him: But when he had quit the more special tye of the care of mens souls, he then took himself to be at more freedome, and having a License sent him by the Bishop of *Gloucester* to authorize him, he fell upon the cure of mens bodies; and being of great sufficiency, his fame was quickly spread abroad. He was looked upon as a very *Trismegistus*, or a second *Aesculapius*. He could do much at the diving into a disease, and in applying such medicines as were proper and fit. Not like some that will be tampering with that Profession, and give their *doses* at adventure. He was quick, yet in cases of difficulty and danger he would weigh things well. In desperate diseases he would adventure far, according to the rules of Reason, what he gave should be safe. He mixed all with his own hands, he would stoop to the meanest, and serve all at an easie rate. His Receipts amounted not to the half, nay not to one quarter of a common *Apothecaries* Bill. He was blessed by God with great, and good success, and had resort, especially towards his latter end, out of his own, and other Countries, so that he had not leasure to sit at his own meals in quiet. Yea many times he was quite tired out till God called him to rest.

His fruitful
discourses.

His words were seasonable and favoury: His tongue was a *Tree of life*: His lips fed many. Whosoever came

came near him, should have something dropping (if he did but heed it) that was worth carrying away with him. It is true, he would be pleasant, and jest more freely than many did, or could well like. (Some of his best friends wished that it had been otherwise) but there will be something of humane infirmity cleaving to us all in this world. Yet the times are to be considered, and the nature of a many with whom he had to deal, that could no more away with a downright blow, than some can away with sound Doctrine. Yet there was never a prudent heart but it might have picked sweet out of that which some did most of all distaste. It is said, that *Erasmus* did more hurt to the *Pope* by his jesting, than *Luther* did by his ruffling: So this man gave a deadlier blow to the iniquity of the times in his *jocular* way, than most others can do in their most serious undertakings; yet would he be as serious as any man living upon a just and fit occasion, and would be as tender to trouble the spirits of the meanest as heart could desire. *Urbanus Regius* having had one dayes discourse with *Luther*, said, that it was one of the sweetest dayes that ever he had in his life: Some can say as much of this rare man, when they had him (as all might have had him) in the right veyn.

He was singular in that faithful advice and counsel which he used to give to all of all sorts upon every emergent occasion. It was said in old time, *They shall ask counsel of Abel*, 2 Sam. 20. 18. and so they ended their matters. The common conflux of almost all in those parts, was still to his house. *Oyntment and perfume rejoyce the heart*, Prov. 27. 9. so did the sweetness of this man by his hearty counsel. To some he was as another

An excellent
Counselor.

Nestor, others found him ever a most faithful *Achates*, and such made him (as *Tully* did his *Atticus*) their constant *Assylum*, and his dexterous counsel (like *Ariadnes* thred) led them out of many a perplexed *Labyrinth*. He was (as that famous *Augur* in *Homer*) one that could see things past, and present, & guess shrewdly also at those that were to come. *Old mens counsels* (they say) are *young mens lances*: Mr. *Calvins* were very profitable, so were Mr. *Capels*: Many a young beginner, and tired confliker, did fetch all their best weapons out of this mans Armory.

He preached
freely.

He preached the Gospel freely for the most part of his last twenty years. *Freely he had received, and freely he would give.* Not that he thought it unlawful for a Minister to take maintenance, or to take that maintenance by Tithes, which hath been publickly set aside in this Land; for his Tithes he paid himself, and that freely and duly too (all the whole time of his preaching thus freely) and that to one who did not much in the work of the Ministry; and he did it upon this ground, because he knew it to be his due. I will not dispute this point at this time with those that be hampered in their opinions, but heartily with them, with all those that in these times are such enemies to Tithes, and are so extreemly defective in making conscience to pay them, to consider what hath safn from the Pens of holy men that have been far enough off from being this way interessed. Mr. *Cartwright* saith plainly, that they that take away the Tithes of the Ministers, and turn them to their own use, would doubtless crucifie Christ again if he were here upon earth, *Beza* speaks of some that leave Christ, as the Soul-

Tithes assisted

Souldiers did, which crucified him either stark naked, or but sordidly clad; and so to do (saith he) is not to love God, but the goods of God more than God. Dr. *John Reynolds* saith, Our Ancestors provided houses, Glebe-lands, Tithes, and other profits for the maintenance of Pastors, and a little after he saith, The Churches Goods allotted to the maintenance of Pastors and Teachers, are not profane, but sacred, and therefore the sin of them that purloyn them, is Sacrilege, not Theft, wherein God is spoyled, *Prov. 20.25. It is a snare to devour that which is holy, and after the vows to enquire.* *Ananias* and *Saphira* were made a dreadful spectacle, for filching of a little of that that was set apart for God. The Eagle fired her whole Nest by one poor piece of flesh plucked from the Altar. The people of this Land are *curst with a Curse*, and they will not see the cause of it, *viz. Their robbing of God, Mal.3.8,9. in Tithes and Offerings.* When shall we prove God, and see if he will not pour us out a blessing, as he hath promised, *Mal.3.10.* It would be a great joy to some that will get nothing by it, to hear Gods *Israel* once again tuning it out before the Lord, as *Deut.26.13,14. I have brought away the hallowed things out of mine house, I have not taken away ought thereof, for any unclean or common use, as Junius reads it.* For then they might say with heart and hope, *Lord look down from thy holy habitation, and bless thy people, and the Land that thou hast given us, as Deut.26.15.*

The practice of this judicious man will sway with some, who was such a *burning & shining light*, the more to be admired that it blazed so long, and so clearly too,

without any of this sublunary Oil. His mind was so fully satisfied with his small gain in the practice of *Physick*, together with what he had of his own temporal estate, that he would accept of nothing for his preaching of any man living, though tendered, and never so much pressed upon him. He took not himself bound (as the case stood) to labour in the work of the Ministry, there being another Incumbent in that place. What he did was merely in love to God and mens souls. Indeed he met with many diversions, as the tempests of the times; his own domestick troubles, age creeping on, store of sick and sad people, and recourse of all sorts, so that he had scarce an hour free for study; yet nothing would take him off from this imployment, till God took him off from all his labours.

His holy life.

As he preached, so he lived down the iniquities of the times. He did not onely cry them down by his publick Ministry, but gave them a more deadly blow by his contrary walking. *Noah* condemned the world more by what he did, than by what he said, *Heb.* 11. 7. The way which Mr. *Capel* took, put some to a stand, caused others to relent, and repent, and encouraged others in the good and right way, whilst they had his patern that could not be contradicted. Now that he is gone, such have a harder task; but God will carry on his own work.

His Self-denial.

He was eminent for Self-denial: Indeed Self-denial is in every mans mouth, but hardly to be found in any mans practise. Self hath ever been, is, and will be the great *Diana*, notwithstanding all mens fair pretences. We read of him that could give smoothe and golden words, *Ruth* 4. 4. 6. but when it came to the

the point, he would not mar his Inheritance. Self hath too great a stroke in the best of us all, both Preachers and Professors, both in Church and Commonwealth. It began to work betimes. *St. Paul* tells us in his dayes, that *all sought their own things*, Phil. 2.21. and it is now grown to a greater head in our age, when we neither eat, nor drink, nor fast, nor pray, nor, do any thing to speak of, but too too apparently we seek our selves therein. How much then was this brave man to be admired, seeing all that knew him, can bear him witness, how far he excelled in this rare Grace ! he could deny himself in his own understanding, and go after God in a way that he knew not, as *Abraham*, Heb. 11. 8. he could deny himself in his own will, when he that is above would lead him in a way that he would not, as *Joh. 2. 18*. He could deny himself in his own affections also, when he came to be crossed in what he could have most desired, ever ruling them by reason, and Religion, as a wise man should do, subjecting himself to bear with quietness what could not be holp, without raising too much dust. It is strange to see how far he could deny himself in apparel, diet, attendance, and what not !

He was very exemplary for his contempt of the world. He had gotten the start of most men in that particular. He used to be beating upon this point mainly, both in his publick preaching, and in his private conference, and shewed the reality of what he pressed when he came to act himself. Indeed he could not say as *Luther* did, that he never had been tempted unto covetousness, but he kept himself from any noted taint in that kinde ; nay from the least suspicion of

His contempt
of the world.

that

that foul crime, with famous Dr. *Whitaker*. When he had things under his hand, he still charged his servants to do what few men practice, that they should never set up Corn, nor bring home Cattel, but take as the Market would afford. All that knew him knew that he was far enough from encreasing his estate by any indirect means; and never was there any man more willing to part with money upon a just and fit occasion. It is well known that he gave over a Living of good value, one of the best in those parts above twenty years before his death, and betook himself to a poor little corner, from which he would never be withdrawn, no more than *Masculus* from his *Berne*. And even there he might have picked mens purses if he had been that way given: But many, and many a time he put back money, and took but a small matter from those that were able, and would have been willing to have given him more; they sought to force him to take it, but he would utterly refuse it.

His Humility.

He was no less exemplary for his great humility. This was the Grace that graced all the good that was in him. He would be often speaking of what he had heard concerning Dr. *John Rainolds*, that he was as learned a man as any was in the world, as godly as learned, and as humble as godly. Mr. *Capel* loved, and revered this Doctor, and trod in his steps. He could speak with Tongues more than most men, yet would he never make use of them in the publick Congregation. He used to honour all men; to acknowledge the gifts, and parts of those that were far below him, and to rejoyce in the m, as *Hooper* did in the

the blinde Boy. He would not meddle in things that were too high for him, nor intrench upon that that was beyond his sphere. He would not stand in the place of great men. He could refuse honours, as *Musculus* did, and contented himself with plain, and mean things. Its observed by *Cajetan*, the Flower of the Cardinals, that he would never be in his silks and braveries, but kept his old fashions to his lives end. *Melancthon* would not disdain to do that, which his meanest servant would scarcely have put his hand to. So was it with Mr. *Capel*, and he would bear things that went awry without distempering himself about them. Moderation he pressed, and moderation he practised. *Staupicius* told *Luther* concerning his behaviour, that in the first three years, he did all things according to the utmost rigour, and that would not do: In the next three years he did all according to the Laws and Counsels of the Antients, and that would not hit: And in the last three years, he did all according to the will of God, and yet neither would that succeed; and then he was fain to be content with what he could have.

His Moderation.

Thus you have a taste, and but a little taste (in this that hath been said) of the precious Liquor that was powred into this earthen vessel. To which might be added the quickness of his apprehension, the strength of his Memory, his sense of the publick evils, his passing by of wrongs and offences, his special regard to such as loved their Wives and Ministers, and the like: but where should I make an end? These, and his other eminent parts, vertues, and graces deserve to be laid in oyl-colours by the most skilful Pencil.

His Patience.

Towards his latter end he met with some pinching griefs, which he did bear with invincible patience, and fortitude : He willingly submitted, because it was Gods will to have him so exercised. All of us must expect to drink of the self-same cup : our last dayes usually are our worst dayes, as *Mollerus* observes ; the *clouds will then be returning after the rain*. We must be taught to know, and speak it out , that we are but *Pilgrims* : we must be more truly and thoroughly taken off from the world, more ripened, and mellowed, and seasoned for God, and be made more serious in all our undertakings. *Melancthon* used to say, That if he had no cares, he should have no Prayers. Our comfort is, our time is but short ; the most and best of our treasure is gone before : Our hope is laid up in Heaven. Get we more communion with God, more faith, more patience, and let us put on the whole Armour of God, and then we shall be able to stand, and to withstand in the evil day, and in the end shall be *more than Conquerours through him that hath loved us*.

This clear-sighted, and understanding man foresaw storms approaching, and rejoyced that he should be in his grave before they fell, whither also he came as a shock of Corn gathered into the Barn in due season. The *Sabbath* day was the last day of his life, the strict observation whereof he often pressed. He would say that we should go to sleep that night (as it were) with meat in our mouths.

His Death.

That *Sabbath* day being *September* the 21. 1656, he preached twice, taking his leave of the world by pressing faith in God. That evening he repeated both his Sermons in his Family, somewhat more largely than ordinary

ordinary. He read his Chapter also, went to prayer, and so to bed, and dyed immediately, by that the words were well out of his mouth, being threescore and ten years old. Who can desire to dye better than *Stephen* did, calling upon God: He would often say, *That if God saw it fit, one had better to dye of a quick, than of a lingring Death*: And God answered his desires.

His Works.

A Treatise of *Temptations*.
Capels Remains.

The Life and Death of Dr. Robert Harris, who dyed Anno Christi 1658.

His Birth.

Robert Harris was born in a dark time, and place at *Broad-Campden* in *Glocestershire* Anno Christi 1578. His Father had the repute of a very wise, and understanding man, and his Mother of a very devout, and charitable woman, under whose wings he spent his childhood: but he acknowledged it as a matter of grief to him all his life, that he preferred his play before reading the Scriptures to his parents at their call. So soon as he was fit for it, he was set to a Free-school at *Chipping-Camden*, where he met with a double discouragement; the first was from the often change of his Schoolmasters by reason of the small salary that came to them: The second proceeded from the fierce and cruel carriage of others, which (as he used often to say) was the bane of many young Schollars; and though for his own part, he remembered not that he had smarted under a Rod in any School, yet the sight of the severity used to others, brought such a trembling and sadness upon his spirit, that he could not shake it off to his dying day.

His going to
Oxford.

From thence he was removed to the School at *Worcester*, under the care of Mr. *Bright*, and on the *Sabbaths* he heard that Reverend and Learned Dr. *Robert Abbots*; and being furnished with School-learning, he went from thence to *Magdalen-Hall* in

in *Oxford*, being allyed to the Principal, Mr. *Lyster*.

There he shewed a more than ordinary desire of Learning, and having but little help either from the Principal, or his Tutor, he followed his private studies with the more earnestness; yet all this while he enquired little into the wayes and truths of God.

His Tutor not long after leaving the Hall, he earnestly solicited the Principal, that he might be committed to the care of one Mr. *Goffe* of *Magdalen* College, who was noted for a very good *Logician* and Disputant, but withal he was accounted a *Puritan*, which made the Principal (who was *Popishly* affected) to dissuade his choice; but he (not out of love to Religion, but Learning) persisted in his desires, and prevailed.

Mr. *Goffe* having thus received him into his charge, required him, that with the rest of his fellow-Pupils, he should joyn in reading the Scriptures, Repetition of Sermons and Prayer; which new course, he being unaccustomed to, was somewhat troubled at it, observing that none of the *Seniors* imbraced that way, and yet it was such as he knew not how to contradict. This caused him oft to betake himself to his private Prayers, wherein he begged of God, either to discover to him the falshood, if his Tutor had any design upon him to corrupt him, or if this course were pleasing to God, that then he would confirm him in it; and it pleased God after a while so to resolve him, that he bought a Bible, and with indefatigable pains he applied himself to the reading of that, and other good Authours in *Divinity*.

His Conversion

Shortly after Mr. Goffe refuseth to continue his Tutor, onely agrees that they would conjoyn their studies together, Mr. Goffe reading *Philosophy* to Mr. Harris, and Mr. Harris reading *Greek* to him, and from *Greek* they proceeded to *Hebrew*, in which study some other of the Fellows joyned with them, whereof one afterwards was President; and besides these studies, his Tutor and he agreed to read *Calvins Institutions* by turns, which course they continued as long as their other occasions, and exercises would permit.

Having for a while been Bachelor of Arts, he was willing to try his fitness for the Ministry, because otherwise his Father would have him to the study of the Law; and having prepared a Sermon, he proffered his pains at *Chipping-Camden*; but such was the wofull ignorance of those times, that in the greater Town he knew not where to procure a Bible to carry with him into the Pulpit; yet at last being directed to the Vicar there, he indeed had a Bible, but it could not be found, having not been seen of some moneths before; yet search being made he was furnished with a Bible, and after Prayer made, he took for his Text those words, *Rom. 10. 1. Brethren, my hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel is that they might be saved*; and his Sermon was highly commended, and yet himself would say, that he was a loser by the bargain. 1. Because his heart swelled upon it. 2. Because his carnal Friends hereupon called on him to give over University studies, and to come amongst them, as having learning enough.

His Father also (having many other children to provide for) was willing to ease his charge, and therefore

Woful ignorance.

His first Sermon.

fore applied himself to some persons of eminency both in Church and State, to get some preferment for him: But he, being willing to decline publick employment for the present, humbly intreated his Father, that what he would hereafter bestow upon him for a Patrimony, he would be pleased for the present to allow it him for his maintenance in *Oxford*, that he might perfect his studies there, which his Father at last condescending to, he returned with joy to *Oxford*. But behold Gods providence! He had not been long at *Oxford* before a fearful Plague brake out in that place, which so scattered the University that few were left remaining, in which case he was again put to his shifts; both he was to return home, and whither else to betake himself he knew not; till at last, by a special Providence, he was invited to the house of one Mr. *Doyly*, five miles from *Oxford*, a Gentleman of a very antient Family in that County, and a great Friend to the Gospel, whose wife also was eminent for knowledge, and piety, to them therefore Mr. *Harris* goes for the present.

His return to
Oxford.

A special Providence.

Coming to Mr. *Doylyes*, he there met with one Mr. *Prior*, a prudent godly man, and of an excellent spirit, who being much weakned by two wracking diseases, of the Stone and Gout, and overburdened with preaching both on the *Sabbaths* and *Fasts*, enjoyned upon the occasion of the Plague, in meer pity, Mr. *Harris* holp him a turn or two, which he performed with so good approbation, that presently he was set upon, both by Mr. *Doyly*, Mr. *Prior*, and some others, that he could not withstand their importunity, but was necessitated to preach with them, at least during the

the continuance of those extraordinary *Fasts*. Mr. *Harris* pleaded that he was not an Ordained Minister, and therefore durst not meddle with any thing but preaching; neither with that, but till he could be Ordained. This they assented to, and during his abode amongst them, he met with ample requitals from the good Gentleman, and his Wife, and great encouragement from the people.

Ministers
suspended.

About this time there was a fearful Eclipse upon the Church; many eminent Ministers were suspended both from their Office and Benefices, and amongst them, those three bright shining Stars, Mr. *Dod*, Mr. *Cleaver*, Mr. *Lancaster*. Upon this occasion Sir *Anthony Cope*, who had formerly placed, and now lost Mr. *Dod* at *Hanwell*, and Mr. *Cleaver* at *Drayton*, became a Suter to his brother *Doyly* (for so he was by marriage) for the enjoyment of Mr. *Harris*. Mr. *Doyly* entertained this unwelcome motion with great regret, as being wholly unwilling to part with one whom he so much prized, yet after a long debate, it was judged most beneficial for the publick, and therefore could not be resisted.

His remove to
Hanwell.

Mr. *Harris* went to *Hanwell* with much grief and fear, where he found the temper of the Country to be this: Preach he might and welcome, but they would own no man for their Pastor but those who were ejected: At last it was concluded that Mr. *Harris* should preach to both Congregations whilst Authority would permit, and so long as there was any hope of recovering their former Pastors, this gave some satisfaction, yet was it not sufficient, because Mr. *Harris* was not fully of their former Pastors minde.

Just

Just at the same time it fell out that Mr. *Whately* came to *Banbury*, and met with no less a share in the peoples displeasure, who though they could not except against his Ministry (he being endowed with excellent parts) yet they quarrelled, because his judgement about Ceremonies was not the same with that of their former Teachers; and the truth is, they both had a sad time of it for a great while, notwithstanding all the prudence and moderation which Sir *Anthony Cope*, and Mr. *Dod* shewed to the quieting of them.

Mr. *Whately* at
Banbury.

After a while, Archbishop *Bancroft* finding that the silenced Ministers would not yeeld, presented two Chaplains to *Hanwell* and *Drayton*, upon pretence of a lapse: But Sir *Anthony Cope*, sitting then in Parliament, took one or two of the House with him, and presented his two Clerks to the Archbishop, who after a long contest, was content to admit his presentation; but Sir *Anthony* having spoken in that Parliament against insufficient Ministers, not without reflexion upon the Archbishops, and Bishops, Archbishop *Bancroft* could not but resent this, and therefore referred his Clerks to be strictly examined by his ablest Chaplain. The Chaplain, having as it seems, his lesson beforehand, brings in the Clerk designed for *Hanwell* (which Mr. *Harris* had declined) as altogether insufficient, though a grave and discreet Divine. Mr. *Harris* was returned, *mediocriter doctus*, moderately learned. The Archbishop being not satisfied with this last account, desires Bishop *Barlow*, who was present with him, to make some further proof of Mr. *Harris*, and the Bishop being an active and witty man, was glad of

He is Secled at
Hanwell.

the opportunity, and deals with Mr. *Harris*, first in *Divinity*, but most in other Learning, and *Greek*, wherein the Bishops excellency lay, and both of them so long *Greeked* it, till they were both gravelled for want of words, whereupon they both laughed, and so gave over. The Bishop going in to the Archbishop, in his report (as Mr. *Harris* expressed it) set him up as much too high, as the Chaplain had set his Fellow too low. The Archbishop hearing the Bishops testimony, was content to admit Mr. *Harris*, but upon condition that he might have *Hanwell*, which was easily assented to by Sir *Anthony*, having before designed it for him, and Mr. *Dod* also was present to testify his concurrent desire; the only stick with Mr. *Harris* was, that he was fearful to succeed so famous a Divine; which answer was not pleasing to the Archbishop, though at present he courted Mr. *Dod*.

His Marriage.

A new Pastor being thus placed at *Hanwell*, and withall, *Drayton* being furnished with a godly prudent man [Mr. *Scudder*] there were now three neighbours, who were linked together, not onely in judgement and affection, but also in affinity; for Mr. *Harris* married Mr. *Whatelyes* sister, and Mr. *Scudder* his wives sister, and these three for a while met weekly together, and by turns translated and *Analysed* each his Chapter, till multitudes of publick employments caused them to desist.

His Affliction

Not long after there befell Mr. *Harris* his wife, upon the birth of her first childe, a long and sore affliction, which was (as Mr. *Dod* told him) but to season, and fit him for his work; and Mr. *Harris* himself would oft say, that he had been quite spoyled, had he not thus

thus been taken down; for young Ministers know not what ground they tread on, till God layes them flat.

This, and some other clouds being blown over, the weather seemed now to clear up, and his people began to relish his Ministry, and much comfort he found in the neighbourhood of many godly Ministers, on one side he had Mr. *Cleaver*, a very solid Text-man, on the other Mr. *Lancaster*, a very humble, and self-denying man, who though by birth he was a good Gentleman, and had sometime been Fellow in *Kings College* in *Cambridge*, where he had read sundry publick Lectures, and made many Speeches, and (as Dr. *Collins*, that Master of Language used to say) delivered himself in as pure *Latine* as ever *Tully* spake, having no other Notes to help him, but what he wrote upon his own nails; yet this good man, thus accomplished with all learning, contented himself with a Living that was not worth 40 l. *per annum*, and in his preaching made no noyse of any learning at all. When I was young I knew this Mr. *Lancaster*, he was a very little man of stature, but eminent, as for other things, so especially for his living by Faith. His charge being great, and his means so small, his wife would many times come to him when she was to send her maid to *Banbury* Market to buy provision, and tell him that she had no money; his usual answer was, *Yet send your maid, and God will provide*; and though she had no money, yet she never returned empty, for one or other that knew her to be Mr. *Lancaster's* maid, either by the way, or in *Banbury* Town meeting her, would give her money, which still supplied their present wants.

Mr. *Lancaster*,
a learned and
humble man.

Life of Faith.

Mr. Dod's Character.

But above all his Neighbours, Mr. *Harris* still most respected Mr. *Dod*, and concerning him was fully of Mr. *Cartwrights* minde, that he was the fittest man in *England* for a Pastoral Office; he was able to speak to any mans capacity; he was never out of the Pulpit, for all his discourses were Sermons, which he intermixed with such variety of delightful expressions, and similitudes, as would take with any man. The truth is, he was a very eloquent man both in *English*, and *Latine*, and so facetious and pithy, that Mr. *Harris* used to say often, *That if all his Apothegmes were gathered together, they would exceed all that Plutarch had written in Greek, and others since his time in Latine had published.* For some years Mr. *Harris* had the happiness to live with, and near this man of God, and that in such a conjunction as greater could not be.

How Mr. *Dod* prized him.

During the time of their converse, they studied together, and daily read a Chapter in the *Original* together. And after Mr. *Dod* was restored to the liberty of his Ministry in another Diocess, he would not expound a Text, preach a Sermon, answer a case of Conscience (whereof many were daily brought to him) without the concurrence of Mr. *Harris* with him, so highly did that eminent Divine prize him, and would often-blame him for his reservedness and unwillingness to put forth himself.

Mr. *Dod* being (as was said before) removed into *Northamptonshire* to *Fausley*, God was pleased to supply his want by the resort of sundry young Students from *Oxford* to *Hanwell*, so that Mr. *Harris* his house was a little *Academy*; and amongst others, he took much

much comfort in Mr. *Pemle* (who would do nothing, especially in *Divinity*, without his advice) as also Mr. *Capel*, who oft resorted to him in his grievous conflicts and temptations for advice and succour, and also in his well known *Treatise of Temptations*.

Whilst he was at *Hanwell* he had frequent calls to *London*, sometimes to *Pauls Cross*, sometimes to preach before *Parliaments*, and other sometimes at *Country-Fests*, which occasioned many invitations to places there: But of all the Auditories, that of *Saviours* in *Southwark* was most grateful to him, and there he could have spent the remainder of his dayes if his voyce would have reached so great an Assembly. From thence he was invited to some lesser Churches, but God had not yet finished his work by him at *Hanwell*, and therefore something or other still interposed. Probably he had closed with *Alderman-bury*, had not the then Bishop of *London* [*Land*] complemented him out of it, commending his *Conscio ad Clerum* at *Oxford*, and promising him better preferment than he thought he should merit. Some other offers were made to him, but still he met with some cross Providence, which made him come to a resolution to end where he began.

His invitations
to London.

At *Hanwell* he went over many Scriptures, but his people found least good from that which cost him most pains, viz. his Sermons upon the *Colossians*, which Epistle he preached throughout. Indeed at that time he thought he could not speak too highly to a people who had been so taught, but upon further trial he found that he could not go too low, so that (as some of his hearers after told him) his pains upon that

His Labours
at Hanwell.

Epistle was wholly lost as to them. His Sermons upon *Historical* Scriptures, best pleased most of his auditors; but with himself, and the more spiritual sort, his labours upon the Book of the *Canticles* prevailed most, the Notes whereof he was often pressed to make publick, which he refused upon a double account. 1. Because a great part of them were lost, and dyed with Dr. *Preston*, to whom he had lent them, and whom he used to call, *A needlese engrosser of other mens Notes*. 2. He less satisfied himself in his elder years, in divers passages of that mysterious Book. Yet if the world were at leisure to hear old men speak, it might be very useful to collect those dispersed Papers, and it is hoped that some of his near Relations (who best know his hand, and method in writing) may take some pains therein for the publick good.

His frequent
preaching and
success.

At *Hanwell* Mr. *Harris* continued preaching for about forty years, a constant, painfull, and faithfull Preacher, both upon the *Sabbaths*, and other occasions which tell out often; for when he came thither, he found that there had been an accustomed course of preaching upon such *Festival* dayes (then so called) which might not enterere with the Lecture or Market at *Banbury*, which he also kept up, especially on *Easter*, and *Whitsun* Mundayes, unto which, multitudes of Christians resorted far and near, *as the Doves to the windows*, yet without any superstition. And on the morrow, they were entertained with the like Feast at *Banbury* by Mr. *Wheatley*. O, what a Faire of souls was then held at *Hanwell* and *Banbury* by these two Brothers? How did Religion then flourish, and Professors thrive *like the Calves in their stalls*? The truth is,

is, these Preachers carved out sound and wholesome food, and their hearers came with good stomachs, expecting what they found, *viz. Milk for Babes*, and *strong meat for strong men*, and accordingly did grow thereby. In those dayes godly Preachers stuffed not their Sermons with airy notions, and curious speculations, but sought out profitable matter, which they delivered in *sound words*, and in plain method of Doctrine, Reason, and Use, accommodating themselves to every mans capacity, and God gave them a plentiful Harvest in that Country.

These his employments at home (together with his natural Bookishness) made him less forward to engage in Lectures abroad, onely he was one in a combination at *Dedington* in *Oxfordshire*, and for sometime he kept a Lecture alone at *Stratford upon Avon* in *Warwickshire* every other week, unto which there was a great resort both of the chief Gentry, and choicest Preachers and Professors in those parts, and amongst them, that Noble and Learned Knight, *Sir Thomas Lucy* of *Charlcot* had alwayes a great respect for him.

His Lecture
at *Stratford*
upon *Avon*.

About this time a great Living in the Country was offered him, about which he was very indifferent, and indeed, was but very indifferently dealt with in it, which occasioned him to say, *That he never bore any thing more impatiently than the abuse of Religion to base and private ends, and, that carnal policy, would render Profession despicable at least, whilst some men took such a liberty to themselves in equivocating and dawdling, and the reason of such mens success was, not because they had more wit than others, but more boldness to say and do what others durst not.*

All

Religion flourisheth.

Gods blessing upon his outward estate.

The Battel at Edgehill.

All this while he continued at *Hanwell* in much prosperity, and the Neighbours thereabouts frequented his Sermons, amongst whom he received the greatest seals of his Ministry: But though he found so much encouragement from abroad, yet we must not forget his people at home, who were so far brought into a conformity, that at sometimes there was not a Family in the Town where Gods Name was not in some measure called upon, nor a person that refused to be prepared by him for the Lords Supper.

And as the Lord was thus pleased to bless, and succeed his labours, so he caused him to thrive in his outward estate likewise, which himself could not but take notice of; for though his means was not great, and his children many, for whose sakes he kept a Schoolmaster, and the resort of Friends to his house not small, both on *Sabbath* dayes, and Lecture dayes, yet was he in a thriving condition, which occasioned him to say, *That there was a secret blessing attending on house-keeping. For (said he) I am not able to give an account of my expences and of Gods supplies.*

But now began those cloudy times, and his sadder dayes, when Troops and Armies marched into those Quarters, about *Edgehill*, where was fought a bloody Battel, *Octob. 23. 1642*, upon the Lords day, in the Vale of the *Red Horse*, being distant about four miles from him; yet it pleased God so to order it (which he took for a great mercy) that he heard not the least noise of it (the wind sitting contrary) till the publick work of the day was over; nor could he believe the report of a Battel, til a Souldier besmeared with blood and powder came to witness it. From this very time his troubles

troubles encreased: Now was he threatned by this, then by the other Garrison, one while he was a *Roundhead*, and then a *Malignant*, frequently oppressed with Souldiers that were quartered upon him, yet still he kept his station, and some of his Guests would joyn with him in Family-duties, which he intermitted not, when others would scoffe at them, because not mingled with *Book-prayers*. Every *Sabbath* he held on the course of his Ministry, and most of those which quartered with him, being Commanders and Officers, they shewed themselves civil to him, and his; onely at one time there was a company who were so outrageous in swearing and blasphemy, that he could not forbear preaching upon that Text, *James 5. 12. Above all things, my Brethren; swear not, &c.* which so nettled some of them, that they damned themselves to Hell if they did not shoot him in case he preached again upon that Text, which they judged to be purposely chosen against them; the next *Sabbath* he proceeded purposely upon the same Text, wherein he backed what he had said before, and as he was preaching he saw a Souldier take his Carbine, and fumble about the Cock as if he was preparing to shoot, but Mr. *Harris*, apprehending that he did it onely to disturb him, went through his work, and heard no more news of his Souldier.

His Troubles

His Courage.

Thus he continued his labours in those sad times, and though he was chosen a member of the *Assembly of Divines at Westminster*, yet because, upon serious thoughts, he judged his presence less needful there than in the Country, he continued his station there, till he saw his Tenements in the Neighbourhood fired,

He is chosen one of the Assembly.

His remove to
London.

wood, and nurseries of wood destroyed, himself threatned, and at last enforced by a *Scottish* Commander to shift for himself; yea some of his own Neighbours were now ready to betray him, whereupon he went to *London*, and by Gods good providence came thither in safety, though a sad man.

When he came to *London* he went to the *Assembly*, where he found much more undone than done: Indeed he met there with many excellent and learned men; but his thoughts were sollicitous for his people, his wife and children, whom he had left behinde: and indeed he found little rest in his spirit, till the same good hand of Providence had safely brought them unto him. Then went he with more comfort to the *Assembly*, where he did *Antiquum obtinere*, hear all, and say little.

Upon his remove from his house, both his Books, and his Notes (some few only excepted which he had conveyed away beforehand) together with all his remaining goods, were seized upon, and his Living given to another; but that might soon have been supplied, many offers being made to him, from several places, and *Country Committees*.

He is seized at
Buttolphs
Bishopsgate.

The first motion that he hearkened to was the *Temple*; but upon trial, he found that Church too large for his voyce, and thereupon refused, and at last he was sent to *Buttolphs Bishopsgate*, where, though the Congregation was too large for him, yet being necessitated to do something for the maintenance of his Family, he remained there during his attendance upon the *Assembly*.

He is sent to
Oxford.

After his continuance there for some time, himself with

with four more Divines were commanded down to *Oxford*, which was then under *suspension* by the Parliament; which imployment, he often professed, that he did earnestly decline, and that principally for two reasons;

1. Because the Committee for *Hampshire* had given him a free call to *Petersfield*, and thither he would willingly have gone. He is chosen to *Petersfield*.

2. Having long discontinued from the *University*, he looked upon himself as very unfit for such a service; but in conclusion he was plainly told, that such as would not be intreated, must be commanded, and so he was ordered to prepare for his journey. This much troubled him, and therefore he first goes to *Petersfield*, and acquaints them how the case stood with him, and because he could not come suddenly to them, he desires them, either to pitch upon some other Minister, or else to take the care upon themselves, to provide supplies for both the Churches (for two they were) and to pay the Preachers out of the Revenues of the place. The people liked neither of the offers, yet were content to wait a while in hopes that he might come to settle with them, requesting him in the mean while to provide them such supply as himself should approve of. This proved a troublesome work to him, though for a time he sent them help from *Oxford*, and thereabout; for preachers were now hard to be gotten; there being more want of Ministers, than of places; yet at last two were procured, the one of whom gave no good content. At last he was put upon it, either to relinquish *Oxon*, or *Petersfield*; the former he could not decline, and therefore he left He leaves *Petersfield*.

the latter, though with great regret, because he could not seal up such respect, and thanks as he conceived was due from him to that Country. Neither had he less trouble in providing for *Buttolphs Bishopsgate* (it being no easie matter to please Citizens) yet at the last they were supplied to their content.

He is traduced.

About this time many Libels were cast abroad in *Oxford* against other Preachers, and one amongst the rest reflected upon Mr. *Harris*, reckoning up his several Livings, and great Revenues, wherein they mentioned what was past, present, and to come, and happily if they had heard of the rest, which at several times were offered him, they would have put them also into that Catalogue: Mr. *Harris* being informed hereof, he wrote to some Friends (which Letters are already extant) wherein he vindicated himself in the main, yet withall he professed unto others, that it would, and should be to him matter of humbling, and caution to him whilst he lived, that he had given the least advantage to such as sought it, for though he stood clear in his own, and others consciences, who best knew him, that he was far from allowing non-residency, and plurality of Livings, yet to such as were ignorant of all circumstances, there was some appearances of evil, which also he took the more to heart, because from that time forward he found the afflicting hand of God both upon him, and his.

His several afflictions.

A Disputation at *Oxford*.

The Preachers that were sent to *Oxford* found but ill entertainment; on the one hand they were aspersed, and libelled against by their own Mothers Sons, and on the other hand they were challenged to a publick Disputation by one Mr. *Erbery*, a Sectary, and his asso-

associates. Mr. *Harris* was unwilling that this challenge should be entertained, having observed that disputes of that kinde, send away each party more strengthened in their opinions, than when they came thither; yet his brethren being of another minde, they desired his concurrence, at least so far with them, as to begin the work with prayer. This he condescended unto, and the Disputation proceeded, and the issue was, that all were censured, some for speaking, others for their silence, in which latter rank he was willingly placed.

Not long after came the Chancellor of *Oxon* [the Earle of *Pembroke*] to visit the University, who, according to the custome, bestowed Degrees upon some of the Schollars, and amongst others, Mr. *Harris* was admitted Doctor of *Divinity*, who yet, neither thought himself the better Schollar, nor the better Preacher for this new honour, and had it not been that he was loath to sleight the favour from his betters, he had refused it: having learned, *That an empty hand from a Prince, and a naked title from his Chancellor, must be counted an honour.*

He commended
D^r. Do^r.

At this time many Headships of Colleges (before made void) were now to be supplied, and Dr. *Harris* professed, that seeing it was noised abroad, that these Reforming Preachers came thither to play their own game, viz. to thrust out others, and to invest themselves with their places, he therefore resolved to keep to his old course, namely, to stand silent without opening his mouth for any Headship at all, and presently the best places were all disposed of; neither was any thing spoken of for Dr. *Harris*, till a Noble man, of

He is made
Head of Tri-
nity College.

the other University, made mention of him, as not fit to be forgotten, whereupon *Trinity* College was assigned to him. This some of his Friends much wondered at, considering, that, though he was the meanest in his own eyes, yet was he the oldest man, and one that had suffered more by the times than any, if not than all the rest; yet he himself said little to it, onely he enquired who was the Head that was ejected, and what was the nature of the place: for he was unwilling to entertain the proffer, if the former Head could finde favour to hold it, and thereupon he forbore as long as he could be permitted; and as for the place, the smalness of the College, and the scituation of it gave him great content, who desired no more than what would keep him from distractions in his studies, and the only thing that he stuck at was, because there was a Parsonage annexed to the College.

But when he understood that its distance from *Oxford* was not great, and the conditions easie, *viz.* That he was required to preach but eight Sermons *per annum* at it, he the more willingly inclined to it, though after acceptance, he could not satisfie himself under two Sermons a week; and so at last there he sate down, and took much content in the Fellows of that College, betwixt whom, and him there was ever a very fair correspondence.

At the Parsonage he found most of the people (though they had been long taught) very ignorant, and much addicted to their old Customes, and (which he looked upon as a sad prognostick to the place) no sooner did any there look Heavenward in any special manner, but the Lord presently took

took him away, some few, and those very few excepted.

About this time a motion was made by the Committee at *Oxford* of removing him to *New College*, which was now void, but as the motion began without him, so it was stifled by him, the rather, when he heard that some exception was taken above against him as being incapable of that place, because he was not a *Winchester* Schollar. The truth is (as he professed to some of his Friends) he rather desired a little, than a great College, being one who was very much addicted to privacy, and his Book, which made him often say, *That if Trinity College were a competency without the Parsonage, he would not leave it for any place, except it were an Hospital*: So much had he been into the vanity, and troublesomenesse of the world.

He refused
New College.

In his latter dayes journies began to be tedious to him, which occasioned some well affected Citizens in *Oxford* (who were moved thereunto by a Sermon which Dr. *Cheyne* preached unto them) to make some overtures to him of reading a *Catechisme* Lecture, or of preaching upon the Principles of Religion (which liked him best) in one of their Churches; in consideration whereof, they would maintain him an assistant at his Parsonage. The motion was good, the exercise needful; the onely question was, how such a work would be accepted in such a place amongst the Wits, and Scholars of the University; yet because he had bemoaned himself to God in private, bewailing that his comfort was little in the place where he preached, and made it his humble sute that God would not lay him aside, but

He is chosen
to preach a
Lecture in
Oxford.

but finde some imployment for him, whilst he had ability to perform it, because (I say) he had prayed thus, and this motion presently ensued, he durst not reject it, but set upon the work, wherein the Lord assisted, giving him strength even beyond what could be expected from a man of his age, and caused his labours to finde great acceptance with his Auditors; and thus he continued preaching once every *Sabbath* at his Parsonage, and once in the week this Lecture: besides which he preached when his turn came in the University, and that both in *English*, and in *Latine* also. Yet we are not come to the end of his labours; for having now freed himself from worldly affairs, disposed of all his children, and having left himself nothing else to do, but to prepare himself, and his wife for their graves, who had lived about fifty years together, it pleased God to exercise him in this strange manner.

His wives fore
temptations.

His wife, who was born of Parents eminently pious, had been religiously educated, and her self a constant worshipper of God all her time, who seldome rose from her prayers with dry eyes, was delivered up by God to Satans buffetings, and to such hellish temptations, and horrors of minde, as struck a grief and terror unto all the spectators, which occasioned him often to say, *That God made appear to all beholders, that the best man is no more than the Lord makes him hourly.* For as the receiving of Grace, so the keeping, using the comfort and enjoyment of it, is all from him, which is not onely true in supernatural Graces, but in the gifts of Nature also; our wits, senses, phantasies, all are in Gods hand; nor are the
wisest

wisest men any thing longer than he pleases to continue them so.

This good woman was a sad instance of all this, whose temptations were so violent, so horrid, and withall so subtil, that they put the ablest, and most experienced men to their wits end to answer them, and her poor self even beyond her self: whilst she was in this perplexed condition, sundry eminent Preachers and Professors visited her, and her husband (who had been a happy instrument of satisfying many others) could give her no satisfaction. One day as she was complaining that she could finde no comfort, O (saith he) *What an Idol do some make of comfort, as if their comfort were their Christ!*

In the midst of these trials, he yet took notice of these comforts and mercies, 1. That she was kept from blaspheming the Highest (for so she stiled God) and from hurting her self, and others. 2. That this affliction awakened him and his children; for they esteemed her the most conscientious and innocent amongst them all. 3. It put him upon more work than his age could well bear, that so he might call out his thoughts upon business, and not eat up his own heart with grief and care. And lastly, it wrought in him an holy despair of all creature-comforts; for now he could neither enjoy childe, nor friend, nor food, nor sleep, having her continually before him in his eye, ear, and heart; and all friends fearing to come in sight, lest they should wound themselves, or trouble her; onely continual prayers were offered up for her upon all occasions, which gave hopes that the Lord might yet make her end comfortable, and conquest glorious.

Mercies mixed
with trials.

However (her Husband would often say) *That the difference was not great whether comfort came at death, or an hour after, since comfort would come assuredly.* But leaving her under a general expectation of a blessed issue in the best time, we return once more to her Husband now ready to enter into his Haven of rest.

After a long and laborious life, which could not but be painful to him that underwent it, we come at length to his last, long, and painful sickness, which is the usual Harbinger of Death.

His last Sick-
ness.

In the Summer he began to droop, and finding his decay, he sent for two *Physitians* [*Dr. Bathurst*, and *Dr. Willis*] who were well known to him and his, by former experiences, and eminently known in the University; to whom he professed, that he used means meerly in obedience to God, but for his own part he *could live, and durst dye.* His *Physitians* (as himself confessed) had proceeded so far as Art and Learning could carry them, but herein they would lose of their worth, that they had to deal with complicated diseases, which were seldom removed, but most of all with old age, a disease which was never cured. His first encounter was with a vehement *Pleuritical* pain in his left side, which was attended with a Feavor, as also with a great defluxion of Rheume, and oppression of his lungs with Flegme, and when after divers weeks all these his Assaultants seemed well-nigh vanquished through the tender care of his skillful *Physitians*, yet then that enemy which had so long lodged in his bosome, brake forth into an *Empyema*, which he expectorated daily in so great a measure, for the space

of

of two moneths or more , that hereby (together with some fits of his old diseases , the *Stone* and *Strangury*) he was not able to speak much to those that visited him.

And herein indeed it fell out according to what he had often foretold in his best strength, *viz. That little was to be expected from him on his death-bed* , which occasioned him to write (fearing that his tongue might not then be able to utter it) his advice and counsel to his Family many years before his death. The truth is, he the rather forbore to speak , because he perceived that some had a design to make his speeches publick, which he was utterly averse to, neither would he consent that any thing of his **Life** or **Death** should be written : Nay, he could never be perswaded at any time to sit , that his Picture might be drawn , so desirous he was that all of him might be buried with him. And albeit he spit up those Lungs which he had wasted in the Pulpit, yet could not that light of Grace be so smothered under a Bushel , but that oft-times the beams thereof would shine forth , and himself would breathe forth himself in pithy speeches, and favourable discourses.

In the beginning of his sickness, being desired to admit of company, he answered, *I am alone in company, its all one to me to be left alone , or to have Friends with me ; my work is now to arm my self for Death which assaults me , and I apply my self (as I am able) for that great encounter.* And accordingly he spent his whole time in meditation , prayer , and reading the holy Scriptures, especially the Book of *Psalms*, the Prophecie of *Isaiah*, and *St. Johns* Gospel, taking ex-

His Humility.

H's secret im-
ployments.

ceeding delight in the 10, 14, 15, 16, and 17, Chapters of that Evangelist.

How he spent
his time.

After which time his nights were long, and sleeps short; and when he could neither sleep nor sit up in his bed to read, his manner was to command others to read to him, and then himself would collect the most useful things that were contained in the Chapter, explaining such things as were difficult, and sweetly feeding upon the rest.

His counsel to
his friends.

His constant practice was, to exhort such as either visited, or attended upon him, above all things to get Faith. *It is (saith he) your victory, your peace, your life, your Crown, and your chief piece of spiritual Armour: Howbeit, get on all the other pieces, and then go forth in the Lords might, stand to the fight, and the issue shall be glorious; onely forget not to call in the help of your General: Do all from him, and under him.*

His strict ob-
servance of
the Sabbath.

On the Lords dayes he would not hinder any from the publick Ordinances for any thing that was to be done about him, till Sermons were ended, and then he would say, *Come, what have you for me?* (meaning something of Repetition) unto which he would attend with such diligence, as that he would summe up the heads of every Sermon, and say, *O what excellent truths are these! lay them up charily, you will have need of them.*

When Friends came to visit him, he used to say, *I cannot speak, but I can hear:* And when he was asked where his comfort lay? His answer was, *In Christ, and in the free Grace of God:* One telling him, Sir, you may take much comfort in your labours, you have done much good, &c. His answer was, *All is*

nothing without a Saviour, without him my best works would condemn me. Oh, I am ashamed of them, being mixed with so much sin! Oh, I am an unprofitable servant, I have not done any thing for God as I ought; loss of time sits heavy upon my spirit. Work, work apace; assure your selves, nothing will more trouble you when you come to dye, than that you have done no more for God who hath done so much for you.

His divine
speeches.

Sometimes he used thus to breathe out himself, I never in all my life saw the worth of a Christ, nor tasted the sweetness of Gods love in that measure as now I do. When he was asked what should be done for him? His answer was, Do not onely pray for me, but praise God, for his unspeakable mercy unto me, and in particular that he hath kept Satan from me in this my weakness. Oh how good is God, entertain good thoughts of him. How ever it be with us, we cannot think too well of him, or too bad of our selves.

And this sense of Gods goodness was very deeply imprinted upon his heart to his very last; and therefore in all his Wills, this Legacy was alwayes renewed, Item, I bequeathe to all my children, and to their childrens children, to each of them a Bible, with this Inscription, None but Christ. Being upon a time visited by two Reverend Doctors, his choice Friends, who before they prayed with him, desired him to tell them what he chiefly requested? He answered, I praise God he supports me, and keeps off Satan; beg that I may hold out: I am now in a good way home, even quite spent: I am now at the shore, I leave you tossing on the Sea. Oh, it is a good time to dye in: Yet when his end approached nearer, being often asked how he did? He

answered, *In no great pain (I praise God) only weary of my unuseful life. If God hath no more service for me to do here, I could be gladly in Heaven, where I shall serve him better, freed from sin and distractions. I pass from one death to another, yet I fear none; I praise God I can live, and I dare dye. If God hath more work for me to do here, I am willing to do it, though my infirm body be very weary.*

Desiring one to pray with him, and for him, that God would hasten the work; it was asked whether pain, &c. put him upon that desire? He answered *No, but I now do no good, and I hinder others which might be better employed, if I were not: Why should any desire to live but to do God service? Now I cease from that, I do not live.*

By this time the violence of his distempers disabled him, and the advice of his *Physitians* was, that he should forbear speech, yet he called upon those which attended him to read some part of the Scriptures to him constantly, especially he put one of his Sons that was with him, to pray frequently, and whilst his life and speech lasted, he used to conclude all the Prayers with a loud *Amen*.

The nearer he approached to his end, the more he slumbered. Once when he awoke, he found himself very ill, whereupon calling for his Son, he took him by the hand, and said, *Pray with me, it is the last time in likelihood that I shall ever joyn with you; and complaining to him of his wearisomeness, his Son answered, There remains a rest: To whom he replied, My Sabbath is not far off, and yours is at hand, ere that, I shall be rid of all my trouble, and you will be eased of some.*

At

At length his ruinous house (which onely inobedience to the will of God had held out beyond his own desires, and all mens expectations, from the heighth of Summer till the depth of Winter) comes to be dissolved. About *Saturday* in the even, he began to set himself to dye, forbidding all cordials to be administered upon what extremity soever, and gave his dying blessing to his Son (who onely of all his children was present with him) and (upon his request) enjoyned him to signifie, when he had opportunity, to that Country, where he had lived longest, *that he lived and dyed in that Faith which he had preached and printed, the comfort whercof he now found.* Something else he began to speak, but his distempers interrupted his purpose, and from that time he never entertained any discourse with man, onely he commanded the eighth Chapter of the Epistle to the *Romans* to be read to him. And herein God was exceeding good to him in the return of those Petitions which had been put up for him that afternoon, by those two eminent Divines, and his dearest Brethren before mentioned: For whereas his great distempers gave occasion to fear his death would be exceeding painful, yet did it prove so easie, that his Son, and other attendants could but guesse at the particular time of his departure: His breathings were easie, and even, his eyes open, and full of water, till at the last (having lifted them up towards Heaven) they closed of themselves, and his soul, without the least motion of resistance of the body, entred into everlasting rest, whilst those whom he left behinde were entring upon the day of their rest. For then began he a perpetual *Sabbath* in Heaven, when

His Death.

when they began theirs on earth, betwixt twelve and one on *Saturday* night, *December 11. Anno Christi 1658.*

He dyed in a good old age, and full of dayes, having overlived fourscore years: His loss was much bewayled by the College, by the City, and whole Univerſity of *Oxford*. He was (as all that knew him confeſſed) a man of admirable prudence, profound judgement, eminent gifts and graces, and furniſhed with all qualifications that might render him a compleat man, a wiſe Governour, a profitable Preacher, and a good Chriſtian.

Fiſt, look upon him as a Chriſtian, for that was his, and is every mans greateſt Ornament. He was a man that had much acquaintance with God, much communion with him in private meditation and prayer, accounting thoſe his beſt dayes wherein he enjoyed moſt converſe with him.

In the time of his ſickneſs, one asking him how he did? *Oh* (ſaith he) *this hath been a ſweet day, I have had ſweet communion with God in Jeſus Chriſt.* He was not like them who are all for promiſes and priviledges, though in the mean time they neglect duties: He made them his exerciſe, but not his Chriſt: He was much in thoſe ſeverer parts of Religion, as private Humiliation, Mortification, and Self-denial, whereby he gained the conqueſt over himſelf. The truth is, he was (as far as is conſiſtent with humane frailty) Maſter of his corruptions, paſſions, reaſon, appetite, language, and all.

His timely
Conversion.

The Lord was pleaſed to work upon him in the Primroſe of his life, though he certainly knew not, either

either the Preacher or Sermon whereby he was converted. His course was in the dayes of his strictest examination to set down in writing his evidences for Heaven, sometimes in Propositions from Scripture; other sometimes in *Sylogismes*, and these he often subscribed to in a Book that he kept for that very purpose. But these evidences were best read by others in the course of his life, by his exact walking with God in piety, charity, humility, patience, and dependance upon him. He was far unlike to those who sit in *Moses Chair*, and teach what themselves practise not. He had well digested that Fathers precept to Preachers, *Either preach not at all, or live as you preach*. His life was a Commentary upon his Doctrine, and his practice the Counterpane of his Sermons. What was said of that precious Bishop *Fewel*, was true of him, *That he adorned a heavenly Doctrine, with a heavenly life*. In a word, he did *vertere verba in opera*, he lived Religion, whilst many onely make it the subject of their discourse. He was much more than he seemed to be, not loving to make a noise in the world, but accounting it better to do, than to speak.

In his works of charity to the poor, he was no less discreet, than private. When he met with fit objects, his hand was more ready to give, than his tongue to proclaim it. Indeed he was no friend to idle, lazy, canting persons who live on the sweat of other mens brows. These he looked upon as the Pests of the Commonwealth, nor could he think it charity to relieve such to the prejudice of the publick, and to their own destruction. But Gods poor, and the *Honshold of Faith* lay neer his heart. Whosoever shall survey his

His Charity.

His Humility.

His pitthy
up eches.

large Bills of weekly, and quarterly allowances (besides considerable summes given to poor Ministers, and especialy to their Widows, and Orphans, who never knew whence it came) and shall adde thereunto his Legacies bequeathed in his *Will* to charitable uses, cannot (what ever others thought of him) but judge that his charity exceeded the ordinary proportion of his revenues. Naturally he was of a stout and masculine temper, yet through Grace, he attained to a great measure of humility: He was mean, and low in his own eyes, and had more undervaluing thoughts of himself, than all the world besides had of him. He was very sensible of that enemy, which he often complained of, *viz.* Discouragement, which he used to stile, *The child of Pride and Unbelief.* It must needs be acknowledged a great measure of humility that could keep a man lowly under such abilities, attainments, and such general applauses as he met with in every place. His usual saying was, *That he valued no man for his gifts, but for his humility under them: Neither should he expect much from any man, were his parts never so great, till he was broken with Afflictions and Temptations.*

It was his observation, *That the humblest Preachers converted most souls, not the choicest Schollars, w^hilst unbroken.* He would sometimes use this speech, which though a seeming contradiction, yet hath it much truth in it, *It is better to be an humble Devil, than a proud Angel.* He never affected popular applause, variety of Pulpits, Printing, &c. as one conscious to himself of, I know not what unworthiness; neither ever came he thus abroad, but when by importunity he was haled to it.

2. Con-

2. Consider him as a man in his Morals, whether in the Government of himself in particular, or of his Family, or his greater trusts, and in all you shall finde him like himself, excellent, and almost without a parallel.

In regard of himself, he was exactly temperate, confining himself to hours for diet, sleep, &c. He would often say, *That he would rather pour liquor into his Boots, than into his mouth between meals.* He was a strict observer of those Laws of Sobriety, which St. Paul had pressed upon Ministers, and which himself in his *Drunkards Cup* had taught others. He used to eat seasonably and sparingly, which (without question) was one great means of preserving such vigorous spirits to so great an age: His onely play time was *Saturdays* in the afternoon, then he used to unbend, and disburden himself by some innocent Recreations, but onely *ad Ruborem*. He was a man of an excellent deportment, and sweet behaviour, whereby he won much upon all with whom he conversed. Grave he was without affectation, pleasant without levity: Indeed he never loved to hear himself talk, and therefore by some was judged too reserved; but when he knew with whom he had to do, he was communicative enough. No man was more candid, or fuller of civility; none more open or free to entertain or return discourses. He was very cautious before he struck a league of intimate friendship with any man; but when he had once chosen, he was cordial, firm, and constant, his head, hand, tongue, pen, feet, purse, all, were now no longer his own but his friends. It is said of the *French*, that *whatsoever cloaths they wear,*

His Temperance.

Mr. R. M.

whatsoever Garb they accost you in, becomes them so well, as if nothing else did; and a great Critick in men as well as in Books, used to say of our Doctor, that whatsoever he did or spake became him.

His Patience.

It was a rare thing to see him angry. If at any time the folly of others had discomposed him, or their sin had provoked him, yet could he quickly command himself, and convert his passion into wholesome instruction.

Though himself had great parts, both natural, and acquired, yet would he never sleight or undervalue, much less contemn, or discourage any whom he judged to be right in the main. He was very sparing in his censures of others, gentle to all, and severe onely to himself.

He had a special gift of forgetting injuries, but would offer none. His memory was never more faithful than in retaining civilities received, to which he would industriously make what proportionable returns lay in his power. He much feared lest he should give any occasion of suspicion that he either forgot, or neglected any, because he could not readily recall mens names, which occasioned him to say, *That if he lived long he should forget his own name, with him in Valerius.*

At meals his manner was to be sociable, and facetious; yet still he took occasion to enquire of the publick, and how it fared with particular Towns and Families, whence he would alwayes extract something for matter of Prayer or Praise in his Thanksgiving after meat.

In his Family he had that qualification of a good Bishop

Bishop mentioned by the Apostle, *that ruled well his own house*. He had an excellent method in the education of his Children, which was this:

Family Government.

In general, his care was to maintain his authority over them, yet even that authority was equally tempered with lenity and gravity. He loved them without fondness, and ruled them without rigour. In particular, so soon as they could use their tongues, they were made acquainted with the Historical part of the Scriptures. As soon as they could use their legs, they were set to School, and when they could remember any thing of a Chapter read, or bring home any part of a Sermon, his care was to instruct them in the Fundamentals of Religion. Their childhood being past, he would call upon them for the practice of Religion, and was a diligent observer of their private performance of Religious exercises, wherein their Mother was no small help to him.

When they grew up to more maturity, he diligently observed their capacities, inclinations, but especially their constitutions, when he could guess at that sin which was like to prove their *dilectum delictum*, their darling corruption, he accordingly suited their Callings, so as that sin might be least nourished, and most beaten down. The Rule which he gave them was this, *When you are youths chuse your Callings; when men chuse your wives, only take me along with you: It may be, old men may see further than you*. Thus whilst he condescended to them, and they submitted to him, both parties were gratified.

His advice to his children.

Though he had a numerous issue, yet (through Gods blessing upon his estate) he disposed of them

to no mean employments. Many he sent to the Universities ; some to Merchandise, &c. To his Sons whom he bred in the University his Rule was, *Study work, more than wages*: To those whom he bred in the City, he would say, *Do not waste a halfpenny, and you will not want a penny*. And truly so well did they all improve, as his advice, so their own time and parts, that they became Masters of their particular Callings, which ministred unto him no small comfort. He acknowledged it a great mercy to his dying day, that none of his children were blemished, either in their bodies, or in their reputations. He was one of them in whose children that *Papish* slander concerning the ungraciousness of the children of the married Clergy, received a real confutation.

Gods blessing
upon his chil-
dren.

Many of his Sons he buried in their prime, some at home, others in forreign parts, and some dyed shortly after himself, yet all of them gave comfortable hopes to conclude upon a rational charity (both by the pious Letters of those which dyed abroad, and from that particular account which they gave of themselves who dyed at home) that they all meet in Heaven; they which survive need not this attestation. Amongst the dead, there was Mr. *Tho. Harris* of *Magdalen College* in *Oxford*, who was eminently learned beyond his age, an Ornament to that Noble Foundation, whereof he was a member ; once the joy of his friends, and still their sorrow ; and probably this arrow from Gods hand stuck deep in the Fathers heart to his dying day.

His servants
Gods servants.

For his servants, there are some yet living that served him in his younger dayes, who still blest God that

that ever they came under his roof, where they received the beginnings of Grace, and such a measure of knowledge as kept them from warping in the late giddy times.

Whilst he remained with his antient Flock, his constant manner was to keep a Religious Fast before his administration of the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. And after he came to his small College, he so prudently managed all his affairs, that he was both feared, and loved. Indeed his Government there was such as caused a wonder: For whereas that College before, was famous for factions; during his time there was never any complaint made to any Visitors; and no marvel, for the Foundation there, honoured him as a Father, and he looked upon, and loved them as his Children, and accordingly he sealed up his love to them in his last *Will and Testament*.

His good Government in the College.

He called Gifts, Bribery, and hated the very shadow of it. Examples are known in the College of Gratuities refused long after faire, and free Elections.

But look upon him as a Schollar; and there we have him in his proper Element. Though he left the University early, and preached constantly, yet being of a retired disposition, a constant student, and endowed with great parts, he became Master of all manner of Learning to qualifie a Divine. In the sacred Languages, especially in the *Hebrew*, he was very exact.

His great Learning.

His *Conciones ad Clerum*, declare him to have been a pure and Polite *Latinist*: His first, which was preached and printed long since, hath undergone the test, and

and gained the approbation of all knowing men in that Language, the younger by full forty years, is of as good a complexion, and of as vigorous a constitution as its elder brother, and its hoped that in due time it may be made as publick.

A good Disputant.

What his abilities in Disputation were, hath upon severall occasions been made to appear in that College Exercises in the Chappel, where oft-times in the unexpected absence of the Opponents, himself would *ex tempore* take up the Cudgels, and make good their ground. In which Exercises he approved himself a subtle, clear, and ready Disputant, without any grains of allowance either for his age or discontinuance.

His fervent prayers.

Indeed his chiefeft Learning lay where he made least shew of it in publick, *viz.* in *Chronology*, *Church-History*, *Councils*, *Cate-Devinity*, and his insight into the Fathers. But his parts were best seen in the pulpit. His gifts in Prayer were much more than ordinary, wherein his affections were warm, and fervent, his Petitions pithy and substantial, his language pertinent, unaffected, and without *Tautologies*. Oh, how would he raise up a dull and sinking spirit! How would he warm a cold and frozen heart! How would he carry a man out of himself, and by degrees mount the soul heaven-ward!

An excellent Preacher.

His Sermons in Print are well known to the world, and *his works praise him in the Gates*. The particular excellencies of *Nazianzen*, *Basil*, *Chrysostome*, *Austin*, *Ambrose*, *Bernard* seemed all to concenter in him. He taught *Rhetorick* to speak in our Mother-tongue, and (without falshood, or flattery) he may be stiled, *The English Orator*. His Doctrines carried light with them, and

and his Uses heat : His Reproofes were weighty, and his Exhortations powerful. But enough of this, lest we hear as he did who spake much in commendation of *Hercules*, *Quis unquam vituperavit?* who ever dispraised him? yea, what either Christian or Schollar, but approved, or commended him? If you would know the worth of his Sermons, read them (though read they come short of what they were when preached) yea read them again and again, and endeavour to read them with the same spirit they were preached, and you cannot but acknowledge an excellency in them.

Amongst other his excellencies in preaching, which were many, these were not the least, that he could so cook his meat that he could make it relish to every palate: He could dress a plain discourse, so as that all sorts should be delighted with it. He could preach with a learned plainness, and had learned to conceal his Art. He had clear Notions of high Mysteries, and proper language to make them stoop to the meanest capacity.

His way in contriving and penning his Sermons was this:

1. He so contrived the parts of his Text, and points of Doctrine, as might afford him most scope in his Application, wherein his, and indeed, a Sermons excellency doth consist; and therefore he used to say, *That in a Sermon he contrived the Uses first*: He did often handle the same Texts, and the same Points, and yet still would pen new Applications which might be most suitable to the quality and condition of the Auditory.

His method
in preaching.

2. In penning, when he once began, he would never take Pen from paper, nor turn to any Book till he had written all. All his younger dayes, for about twenty years together, he wrote ~~all~~ ^{off} all, and could without much difficulty preach the same *verbatim*. He was wont to say, *That he had a fluid, and waterish memory. I can* (said he) *quickly remember anything of my own, and as quickly forget it again.* Yet questionless his memory was vast and tenacious; for though sometimes he had but short Notes in his Bible, and that but seldome, yet did he never use them, except when he preached a *Clerum* of late years, in which he sometimes glanced upon his Papers. His custome was, presently after he had heard a Sermon, to write down the heads thereof, and he scarce either forgot, or misplaced any of them. Upon Fast-nights he would by the strength of his memory repeat two, sometimes three Sermons that he had heard that day, in the same order as they were delivered.

His strong
Memory.

Speaking with a Friend about Memories, he said, *That his Memory never failed him: For* (said he) *I durst never trust it.*

His pithy
speeches.

He used to say, that a Preacher had three Books to study, 1. The Bible. 2. Himself. 3. The People.

He looked much to the Ordinance, and Relation between Pastor, and People, and would say, *That preaching to them was but one part of the Pastors Duty. He was to live and dye in them, as well as for, and with them.*

He complained much of some mens too large insisting upon the Doctrinal parts of their Point, whereby they left little or no room for Application, and
found

found that few, either in the Cities or Universities bended themselves to enlarge upon their Uses, which made their Sermons to differ little from Divinity-Lectures; and though all Preachers could not enlarge themselves therein, yet he would often call upon them to accustom themselves to it as being most profitable. He would relate a passage of Mr. Dods concerning Mr. Cartwright (who often in his dayes preached occasionally at *Hanwell*) *Me thought* (said Mr. Dod) *when I heard the Doctrinal part of his Sermon, I was in heaven: but when he came to apply it, I sometimes thought that if I had been in his place, I could presently have applied his Point more closely. Non omnia possumus omnes.*

What Sermons are best.

Many young Preachers resorted to Dr. Harris for counsel, both for direction in their private studies, and in their Sermons; and he used to perswade them for many reasons to pen largely, and to keep their Notes for all emergent occasions, often commending Mr. Dods words, who professed, *That he would rather preach an old Sermon tentimes, than speak any thing new without preparation.* Hee would say, that he would have a Preacher to exceed himselfe upon just occasion, and not alwayes to keep the same pace, yet did not that alwayes hold in his own practice; for generally his hearers commended those Sermons most which cost him least, and himself would say, *That he never came off with less comfort, and worse content to himself, than when he was in appearance best provided:* and he gave this reason for it, *Not because he had used such diligence in preparing (for that was his duty) but because he was then aptest to de-*

His advice to young Preachers.

His advice about Books.

pend upon himself, and to neglect his dependance upon God.

Many sought to him for advice in choosing Divinity Books, to whom he would open himself freely. Some he perswaded to read *Ames* his *Medulla*, *Tileni Syntagma*, *Bucanus*, and such like. To some others, he would commend *Aquinas* his *Summes* (which Dr. *John Reynolds* used to call *That absolute Body of Divinity*) *Melcheor Canus*, and of late, Mr. *Bowles* his *Pastor Evangelicus*. But above all, he would call upon every one to read the Text in the Originals, and to Analyse Chapters. This he perswaded Mr. *Pemble* to, and set him to practice it in the Book of the Preacher, or *Ecclesiastes* (which he accounted a very hard Book, till he met with that brief, but pithy Exposition, of that incomparable Divine, Dr. *Edw. Reynolds*) and after that upon *Zachary*. When any consulted with him about Writers, he would ask what they aimed at in a Writer, for several men had their several excellencies. For acuteness he used to commend Mr. *Baines*, and his second, Dr. *Ames*, Mr. *John Ball*, Mr. *Capel*, &c. If they aimed at the spiritual part of Divinity, he would leave them to Dr. *Sibs*: If the rational, to Dr. *Preston*: If the Historical, to Bishop *Usher*. For solid Preachers, he much prized Dr. *Sanderfons* first Works (to his later he was a meer stranger) Mr. *Randal*, Mr. *Hildersam*, Dr. *Reynolds*, &c. And for all the requisites for a Preacher, both for method, matter, elocution, pronounciation, all, he would often say, that he seldome met with an abler man than his Brother *Whateley* of *Banbury*.

When his judgment was asked about *Commentators*, he

he used to answer, that he was now more of *Dr. Fo. Reynolds* his minde than ever concerning *Mr. Calvin*; for upon experience (said he) *I finde that the most of the late Writers do but descant upon his plain Song*; and the *Jesuits* are very *Plagiaries*, who first rob him, and then rail upon him.

His judgement
of *Mr. Calvin*.

Next to *Calvin* he used to commend sundry late Writers, as *Parvus*, *Rivet*, *Mr. Cartwright* especially, together with some *Papish* Writers, as *Maldonate* (whose wit, and learning he preferred before his spirit) before him, Learned *Masius*, modest *Ribera*, and (for ought he found by him) honest *Estius*. And being asked about the best Editions, his answer was, that what was said of *Homer*, was true of the Fathers, and the first *Papish* Writers, viz. *That was ever the best which was least corrected*. Of the Antient Fathers he would say, *That unless it were for their Polemical and Historical parts, their Writings were more for Devotion and Affection, than for their judgement and understanding*.

And of other
Writers.

About modern Authors this was his opinion generally; that what *English* men did *ex professo* undertake, they did best perform it. No men excel them in expounding Scriptures, in answering *Papists*, *Arminians*, &c. None equal to them in the Pulpit, or in Practical, or Case-Divinity. And he held *Cambridge* very happy in her *Whitakers*, *Downams*, *Dawnant*, *Perkins*, besides many others. And for *Oxford*, he would lay one *Fo. Reynolds* (to pass in silence a younger *Reynolds*, and his son in Law, born a Schoolman) in the ballance with hundreds, as a man never sufficiently admired for his Humility, as well as for his Learning.

For the *Schoolmen* he liked many things in them, but not their aukward, and ignorant quoting of Scripture, nor their multiplying of useless questions, with needless obscurities.

For *Lutherans*, he commended divers of them for their learning and industry, but disliked their tartness.

For *Arminius* (though he were none of the best) yet he liked him better than his Disciples and Successors, who were more desperate and dangerous in the five controverted Points, than many of the *Papists*.

As for *Socinianisme*, he accounted it to be but a kinde of blancht *Mahometisme*. And this he observed in general, that those *Papists* who were most conversant in the Scriptures, come nearest to us; the like he said of the *Lutherans*, as *Chemnitius*, *Gerard*, *Hemmingius*, &c.

His judgement
of our times.

He was sparing to deliver his judgement about our condition at home, yet some things lay sadly upon his spirit; as,

1. He complained that the power of Godliness, and exercise of Love, and Self-denial, were much abated in these later dayes; and he much bewayled the vast difference, both in garb and practice, betwixt new, and old Professors.

2. That the Indulgence that was shewed to tender Consciences, was much abused to prophaneness, whilst men of no conscience most pleaded that liberty of choosing their own Churches, and Teachers; and indeed, on the matter abandoned all.

3. That the liberty of Propheying which some pretended to, was abused to meer licentiousness and

con-

confusion, whilst some would have none, and others all Prophets and Preachers.

4. That in the University few could be called constant Students, but the most made a short work of it, and posted into the Pulpit before they understood their grounds, so that few were able to encounter our growing Errours.

5. That in the Church men were in their extreams, some pressing nothing but Law, others preaching nothing but the Gospel, and Christ.

6. He complained of the want of *Catechizing*, and instructing youth in the Principles, the want of which, he saw by experience was a great occasion of the peoples giddiness.

7. But most of all he bewayled the readines of many to side, and make divisions. He loved not either to use, or to hear used, dividing names, and titles; upon which occasion he often related Mr. *Greenhams* answer to the Lord Treasurer *Cecil*, who being asked on which side the blame lay in that great rent between the Bishops, and their *Antagonists*, answered, *That the fault was on both sides, and in neither side: For* (said he) *the godly wise on both sides bear with each other, and concenter in the main; but then there be selfish, peevish spirits, on both sides some, and these be they that make the quarrel.*

This he applied to our times by reason of the distinction of *Presbyterians*, and *Independents*, saying, *Men of humble, and sincere hearts, though differing in opinion, can, and do walk together, pray together, and love one another; but men who wholly look at their own interests, blow the coals, and make a stir, as if the opi-*
ons

ons were irreconcilable, and as every one was distressed to Christs cause that goes not their pace and path.

He professed freely, that for his own part he was not convinced of some things that were earnestly pressed about Church Government : He did not conceive any one external form to be so essential to a Church, but that it might still deserve that name, though under a *Presbyterian*, or *Independent*, or *Episcopal* form, so long as it was kept within the bounds of those general Rules laid down in the Scriptures. Its true, some of these had been abused to Tyranny, and the rest might in time be abused also; but the use and abuse of things are far different, and he would not commend either the one, or the other in their rigid exactions in some cases.

For *Presbytery*, though he thought that Bishop *Bilson* could never (with all his learning) disprove the being of *Lay-Elders* in the Apostles times, yet he thought withall, that it was not so easie a thing to prove the perpetuity of such an Ordinance to the worlds end, especially so cloathed and attended with all those perquisites which some heretofore called for. He thought that there was some reason in the distinction of *Jure Humanò*, and *Juris Humanò*, what ever his application was who first used it : But for the thing it self, sith it is not altogether disproved, but allowed, yea once commanded, and not since retracted (for ought he knew) he saw no reason why any man should, *enomine*, be aspersed, because a *Presbyterian*, by any dissenting Brethren.

For the to her of *Independency*, he confessed that it was

was a Politick way, and free from much trouble, and opposition : For who shall oppose the Minister, when all are of his minde before they are admitted ? yet could he never satisfie himself (though upon occasion he often desired it) in some particulars ; As,

1. What warrant men have to take out of anothers Flock his best sheep, and to entertain them without his consent, or testimony. He asks whether any man would willingly be so served ? whether this would not open a gap, that so soon as a member is offended with his own Pastor (happily upon deserved reproof) presently flye to another Congregation.

2. To leave the cullen sheep in a hard condition: For how shall they be looked upon ? the answer must needs be, little better than Heathens: For the Minister may preach to such, and what more may he do to these, when the chief are gone ?

3. This way seemed to him to be very destructive to that relation between Pastor and People.

4. He conceived this way of gathering of Churches into private places, and companies, to be prejudicial to the publick worship of God: Experience declaring, that in many places of late, the publick Ordinances are grown into disuse, preaching onely excepted, which might be afforded to *Canibals* if they would hear.

5. Lastly, For Congregations to consist of members at such a distance, as that one should live in the *North*, and another in the *South*, &c. many miles asunder, whereby inspection cannot be performed on the Pastors part, and on the Peoples part, they can enjoy little communion and edification one from another ;

this he used to say, that he did not understand, nor could he finde any precept for it in the Word, nor any president or practice of it in Antiquity, if we speak of Churches constituted, and out of persecution, banishment, &c. These things he neither wrote, nor spake but with much fear, and grief.

About Ordination of Ministers.

Amongst other things, he did very much bewayle the great sleighting of solemn Ordination of Ministers, the Office being so sacred, the work of the Ministry so important, and the Minister of so publick concernment. He wondred that when as in all other Offices there is such solemnities at the Officers instalments, that a Minister, and Ambassador of Jesus Christ should be silently admitted without Fasting, Prayer, and some publick solemnity.

As to private passages it were endless to write all his Observations: onely take these few;

He observed that such as often changed their Principles, and Faith professed, usually fell from *Scepticisme* to *Atheisme*.

His excellent Speeches.

That so much Humility as any man had, so much grace, and worth he had, and no more.

That nothing was to be accounted good in, or to any man, but that which was his proper fruit, and done by vertue of his calling, from a principle of God, and for God.

That the best man hath no security from any one sin, or fall, or temptation, any further, or longer than he was held up by Gods hand, and Christs Mediation.

That God doth oftentimes leave us to own Satans suggestions for our own, because we do not own God

God in his holy motions, and breathings.

That its just with God to deny us the comfort of our Graces, when we deny him the glory of them.

In himself he observed, that what he forgat in the week, would unseasonably press in on the *Sabbath*; so that he could, if he durst, contrive more worldly business on the *Sabbath*, than he could dispatch all the week.

That he found no greater enemy than discouragement, which he called, *The childe of pride and unbelief*.

He used to say, that some duties which were oft in mens mouthes, he found very difficult to him:
As,

1. To deny himself in all his Selves, was a work to be learning whilst he lived.

2. To live onely by faith, and a bare promise without a pawn is a great work.

3. To give all to free Grace, and to Christ alone is a mighty work.

4. To love where we meet with unlovingness, and contempt, is no easie matter.

5. To do ones proper work without some present pay, and countenance from God and man, is a hard task.

6. That its far harder to adopt others comforts, than their sorrows, and to hold ones self exalted in anothers exaltation.

7. That to dye in cold blood, and to be active in it as an act of obedience, is the work of a Christian.

In his sickness he would occasionally vent himself thus:

Its a hard thing to think ill of our selves, and well of God at the same time.

Its a hard thing for a Saint to forgive himself some faults, when God hath forgiven them.

Its hard to think holy thoughts long, and to confine them to anothers prayers.

We know but little of Christs love, till all be perfected, and spread before us in heaven.

For his children, he referred them to an old Will, which he had made *Anno Christi* 1636, when they were many, and small, which because it may be of use to many others, its here inserted.

The Advice and Counsel of Dr. Harris to his Family, annexed to a Will made by him, Anno Christi 1636.

To my dear Wife and Children;

My dear Selfs, I know not what leasure I shall have to speak unto you at my Death, and I am not, you know, very free in speech, especially in sickness and sadness, and therefore now I will speak my heart to you, and I would have you to hear me speaking whilst you live, in this my writing which I divide amongst you all.

First for you, my dear Wife, you shall finde the substance of that I would say to you printed to your hand in the Book of *Martyrs*, Vol. 2. p. 1744, to wit, in *John Careless* his Letter to his Wife; keep the Book, and often read the Letter, onely one thing I adde, if you marry again, remember your own observation, *viz.* That second Husbands are very uxorious, second.

cond Wives very prevalent, and therefore take heed that you do no ill office in estranging your Husband from his natural children or kindred; you shall thereby draw upon him a great sin and judgement, if you kill in him natural affections: I have said, and do with all the strength and power that is in me, thank you for your faithfulness, and resign you to the Husband of Husbands, the Lord Christ.

Now my poor Children, let me pour out my heart to you, and speak to your Souls first.

For your Souls.

Trifle not in the main point, the Soul is immortal, you have to deal with an infinite Majesty, you go upon life, and death, therefore here be serious; do all to God in a serious manner. When you think of him, speak of him, pray to him, any way make your addresses to his great Majesty, be in good earnest, and have God, and have all.

1. More particularly, get your pardon in Christ: It is not impossible to get it assured to you, if you will learn, 1. To deny your selves. 2. To live by faith. 3. To understand the nature of the New Covenant. Settle your judgements in these Points, and the thing is feasible.

2. Having gotten it, be still adding to your evidence, and enjoy your present Assurance: Do all to God as to your Father.

Next to this, think how you and I shall endure the sight, the thought one of another at the last day, if you appear in the *Old Adam*, much less shall you stand before Christ; unless you shew the Image of Christ in you, and therefore never cease till you be

made *New creatures*, and study well what that is.

In the last place, strive for those Graces most, which concern your places and conditions, and make head against those sins which most threaten you : As first, Hereditary sins. I was naturally *Melancholy*, that is a humour that admits of any temptation, and is capable of any impression and distemper : Shun as death this humour, which will work you to all unthankfulness against God, unlovingness to man, and unnaturalness to your selves. 2. Of your times, and habitations. 3. Of your tempers and age. 4. Of your Callings.

I have made my own peace, my sins shall not hurt you, if you make them not yours ; you need not fear the success if you will oppose to sin, *Christ is made sanctification* to you, he came to *dissolve the works of Satan* ; he hath overcome for you, and hath made as many promises for your sanctification, as your justification : Gather those promises as they be set down, especially in the Covenant with an oath, *Luke 1.* Press these to God, *2 Cor. 7. 1.*

In short, do not talk and make a noise to get a name of forward men, but do the thing ; be constant in secret duties, and act Religion in your Callings ; for it is not a name, or notion ; It is a frame of nature, and habit of living by Divine Rule. What it is, you will then know when you have it in truth first, and in power next, and not before. Onely this for the present, It is that you must live, and dye by, that you must rise, and reign by ; therefore, my Children, I give you that advice, which I gave your Brother, now with God ; Be more than you seem : Do more than

than you talk of in point of Religion : Satisfie your own consciences in what you do ; all men you shall never satisfie ; nay, some will not be satisfied, though they be convinced.

For your Bodies.

I was troubled with straightness of breath and breast, which was also Hereditary, and therefore you must fear it the more.

The Remedies are, 1. Disclaim Hereditary sins. 2. Keep Heads clean, Feet warm, and Hearts cheerful. 3. Be more frequent than I, and your Brother in exercise. 4. Shun late drinking or studying. 5. Use lighter Suppers.

For your Callings.

1. Choose well, 1. A profitable Calling for the publick. 2. A full imployment. 3. A Calling fit for your parts and means. It is better to be a rich Cobler, than a poor Merchant.

2. Use a Calling well, 1. Make it an help, not a snare to your souls. 2. Be 1. Diligent. 2. Skilful. Any honest Calling will honour you, if thus you honour it, and therefore you may be hopeful, because my self (who had not your parts and helps) never found any thing too hard for me in my Calling, but discouragement, and unbelief.

For your Company.

Abandon all infectious, flattering, self-serving companions, when once you have found them false, trust them no more. Sort with such as are able to do, or receive good. *Solomon* gives you the best counsel for this in many places. Read the *Proverbs*, and remember him in this; 1. Forsake not an old Friend.

2. Be

2. Be friendly, and faithful to your Friends. 3. Never trouble, or trust Friends unless there be a necessity. 4. Lastly, be long in closing with Friends, and loath to lose them upon experience of them.

For your Marriages.

In Marriage you lay the foundation of your present woe, or weal, therefore here be not rash, go not alone, yet remember *Paul*, 1 Cor. 7. 2. First, study whether you have a calling to Marry, yea or no, and advise well of that. If none, forbear; if so, advise with friends, before your affections be engaged. In your choice, 1. Aim at Grace. 2. Good nature and education; the best woman is not ever the best wife. 3. Good parts of understanding, Huswifery, &c. As for Portion, be it more or less, be upon certainties, and trust not words; and for Parentage, let not the distance be too great, lest you despise, or be despised: However be sure that the person likes not your fancy, but your judgement.

For your Children.

Make it your chiefest work to make them, 1. Godly. 2. Useful. Bestow most of their Portions in good Education; and if Grace make no difference, do you make none in your affections, countenances, portions, partiality, this way ends in nothing else but envy, strangeness, &c.

For your selves within your selves.

My desire hath been to carry an even hand over you all, and have laboured to reduce you, as near as I could (all circumstances considered) to an equality, and therefore my last request, and charge is, that you will live together in an undivided bond of love; you are

are many of you, and if you joyn together as one man, you need not want any thing : what counsel, what comfort, what money, what friends may you not help your selves unto, if you will contribute your aides? wherefore (my dear children) I pray, beseech, command, adjure you by all the Relations, and deareness that hath ever been betwixt us, that you know one another, visite (as you may) each other, comfort, counsel, relieve, succour, help, admonish one another. Whilst your Mother lives, meet there (if possible) yearly. When she is dead, pitch upon some other place, if it may be, your eldest Brothers house, or if you cannot meet, yet send to, and hear from one another yearly. And when you have neither Father, nor Mother, be so many Fathers and Mothers each to other, so you shall understand the blessing mentioned, *Psal.* 133.

For your Estates.

Be not troubled that you are below your kindred; get more wisdom, humility, goodness, and you are above them; onely this do, 1. Study work more than wages. 2. Deal with your hearts to make them less. 3. Begin below. 4. Joyn together to help one another. 5. Rest upon the Promises, which are many, and precious this way. 6. Sow mercy. Take of your Mother (to this end) --- a piece: give that in works of mercy, and if all other means fail you, that shall maintain you; I know, I know I say, and I am confident in it, that if ye will be humbled for my barrenness, and will trust God in his own way, he will make comfortable provision for you. Object no more, but trust him.

For the Publick.

Bless God that you are born *English* men, and bear your selves dutifully, and conscionably towards Authority. See God in the Magistrate, and hold Order a precious thing: And for the Church, neither set her above her Husband Christ, nor below her Children; give her that honour, obedience, and respect that is her due; and if you will be my Children, and heirs of my comfort in my dying age, be neither Authors, nor Fautors of any, either faction, or novelty. Its true, this is not a rising way, but it is a free, fair, comfortable way for a man to follow his own judgement, without warping to either hand. Perhaps you may hear variety of judgements touching my walk, when I sleep in silence, some taxing me for too much, some for too little Conformity; but be not ye troubled: I did what in my circumstances seemed best to me, for the present; howsoever the event hath not in some points answered expectation, yet I have learned to measure things by another rule than events, and satisfie my self in this, that I did all for the best, as I thought. Sure I am, my Saviour Christ is perfect, and never failed so much as in circumstance. To him I commit your Souls, Bodies, Estates, Names, Lives, Deaths, All; and my self waiting when he shall *change my vile body, and make it glorious* like unto his own, *Amen. Even so come Lord Jesus, Amen.*

On the Memory of that Famous and Godly Minister,
Dr. Robert Harris, my late worthy Friend.

*As once Elias in John Baptist came
Back to the Jews, in that Triumphant flame
Of Light and Zeal, wherein he did before
Without Deaths help up into Glory soar ;
And by this Transmigration of his Grace,
Prepared paths before his Masters face :
Even so in thee (blest soul) did breathe anew
Great Chrysostom, yea great Apollos too ;
To thee those mighty Orators did give
Their Tongues to speak, to thee their life to live :
Nay, thou thy self didst in thy self renew,
Thy Fort's vigour in Fourscore ; we knew
When all thy strength decayd, thy Gifts did thrive,
The man is dead, the Preacher still alive ;
Alive in his own Sermons in our love,
His Name alive below, his Soul above.
And may the younger Prophets still inherit
A double portion of their Fathers spirit ;
That by a sacred Metempsychosis,
The gifts may now be theirs, which once were his ;
That every Sermon which we hear, may be
(Rare Preacher) a true Pourtraicture of thee ;
Yea, may it of each following age be true ,
The former are exceeded by the new ;
Visions of young surpass old Prophets dreams,
The Fathers Light's outshin'd by Childrens beams,
That in their measures we may more, and more,
Th' unmeasur'd fulness of our Lord adore.*

E. REYNER.

Q-3

THE
OFFICE
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GENERAL
OF THE
STATE OF
NEW YORK
IN SENATE
CHAMBERS
ALBANY
JANUARY 10
1906

The Second Part:

Containing the

L I V E S O F

GUSTAVUS ERICSON,

King of *Sueden*, who was the first
Reformer of RELIGION in
that KINGDOM.

AS ALSO

Of divers other Christians, who were
eminent for Prudence and Piety.

*We desire, that every one of you do shew the same diligence, to the
full assurance of hope unto the end.*

*That ye be not slothful, but followers of them, who through Faith
and Patience inherit the promises, Heb. 6. 11, 12.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Will. Miller*, at the *Gilded Acron* near the Little
North-door in *St. Pauls Church-yard*, 1661.

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The Life of *Gustavus Ericson* King of *Sueden*, who dyed *Anno* *Christi* 1562.



IN the dayes of *Christian* the Second, King of *Denmark* who also laid claim to the Crown of *Sueden*, after the decease of *Swanto*, the Lords of *Sueden* chose *Steno Stur* to be their Governor, against whom *Gustavus*, Archbishop of *Upsal* opposed himself, loving his place, more than his Country, and being crossed in his expectation, he promotes the interest of *Christian* of *Denmark*, who to set forward his claim to the Crown of *Sueden*, spent one year in the pursuit thereof by force of Arms, but effected little. Nor did the Archbishop of *Upsal* get ought in *Denmark*, who saw that he played his own game, nor could he escape the seizure of his Temporalities in *Sueden* for his treachery against his native Country; whereupon the year following he obtained the Popes sentence of Excommunication against the Governour of *Sueden*, and all his partakers, for invading the rights of his Church and Bishoprick; and hereupon the King of *Denmark* takes courage to invade *Sueden* once more with an Army under his General, who in a Battel overthrew the *Suedes*, and wounded *Steno* their Governour, who thereupon retired to *Stockholm* (the Regal City) and unto him repaired all such as intended to adventure their all in the defence of their Country. The rest of the *Suedes* submitted to the *Danish* General,

An Intrody-
Glon.

neral,

neral, who encouraged thereby, marched to *Stockholm*, but meeting with many difficulties in his march, and when he came to the City, finding no hope to draw them to a Treaty, and his Army being now much wasted, he sent to *Denmark* for Recruit, and after a while the King in person comes to him, and so *Stockholme* is beleagured, which yet held out bravely, so that the *Danish* Army being wasted, and the remainder being wind-bound, and almost famished, a Treaty of peace is set on foot, and at last agreed unto by both parties. But the King intending nothing less than to stand to it, pretends that he could not come into *Stockholme* to finish the Treaty till pledges were first given for the safety of his person. This the *Suedes* assent to, and send him pledges of the Sons of the Nobles, who were sent aboard his Ship, and the Kings minde, changing with the wind, away he sails with them into *Denmark*, and there committed them to safe custody: And after four years returns into *Sueden* with a great Army, and gives a second overthrow to the *Suedes* in the Field, wherein the Governour *Steno* was slain: then the King marching to *Stockholme*, findes the City standing upon its Guard under the Government of *Christina*, the Wife of *Steno*; where for a while we shall leave him in a long, and tedious siege, whilst we give you some account of our *Gustavus*.

His parentage

Amongst the pledges carried away, and imprisoned as aforesaid, by the King of *Denmark* was this *Gustavus*, the Son of *Ericus*, a Noble *Suedish* Lord now in *Stockholme* beleagured by the King. This *Gustavus* was of a Noble Familiy, whose Grandfather having

mar-

married the sister of *Steno Stur*, the Governour, thereby he became incorporate into the antient Stem of the Kings of *Sueden*; and in his younger years he was trained up in the Court, under his Uncle *Steno*, who was no less valiant in the Field, than wise for Government in peace. Under him did our *Gustavus* learn the principles of War, which afterwards he began to practice under *Svanio*, the next Governour. For after the death of *Steno* the first, the difference between the *Danes* and *Suedes* about the Government grew so high, that they fought two Battels, in both which the *Suedes* were the Victors, *Gustavus* carrying the Royal Standard of *Sueden*, though at that time he was but eighteen years old; and being now about the age of twenty six, he was (as was said before) committed prisoner to the Castle of *Callo* in *Futland*, under the custody of Sir *Ericus Banner*, a Knight of *Denmark*, who kept him warily that he might suffer no wrong, except from the King himself. This imprisonment he had now endured for the space of four years with patience: But having daily intelligence brought him of the *Danes* cruelty to the *Suedes* his Countrymen, he concluded that his own condition was like to *Ulysses* in *Polyphemus* his Den, being reserved but as a chief dish for the Tyrants pallate, when all the rest were devoured.

His Education.

His imprisonment.

Having therefore upon a day obtained liberty to ride on hunting, being eager in the chase (though he minded another game) he rode away, and having changed his apparel as well as his course, passing through many unknown wayes and dangers, after a chase of three hundred miles, he arrived at last at

His escape.

He comes to
Lubeck.

He is remand-
ed by his
Keeper.

Pleads for
himself.

Defended by
the Consul.

Lubeck, one of the *Hanse Towns*, and that held correspondence with *Sueden* against the *Dane* upon the same quarrel of being oppressed by them.

No sooner was *Gustavus* arrived at *Lubeck*, but that his Keeper, Sir *Ericus Banner*, was come thither also in pursuit of him, who demanded of the Magistrates the delivery of his Prisoner. *Gustavus* pleaded for himself that he was no lawful Prisoner to the King of *Denmark*, but amongst others, was delivered by his Country as a pledge for the safety of the Kings person during the Treaty between the King, and his Countrymen, and that the King contrary to all right and faith, detaining him, and the other pledges, had carried them captive into *Denmark*; that now he was under the *Publick Faith* of the State of *Lubeck*, to whom he was fled for refuge against oppression, desiring to have the benefit of Law, and to have the matter tried; divers of the Senate of *Lubeck* were of opinion that *Gustavus* ought to be returned to the *Dane* as his prisoner, and that it concerned not them to be Judges of the lawfulness, or unlawfulness of his imprisonment: But the Consul overruled the matter, who affirmed, that though originally they had not power to determine the point, yet *Gustavus* being before them *de facto* a Freeman, and as such, had put himself into the protection of the City of *Lubeck*, and had appealed to them for Justice, it becomes them therefore to do herein according to Law; and that by the Law of God, the Law Civil, and the Law of Nations, they ought to enquire into the true state of *Gustavus* his Captivity, and to determine the same upon grounds of Justice; otherwise they might make them-
selves

selves parties to the King of *Denmarks* oppressions (if the case prove so) before they understand what they do. The Authority of the Consul, and the strength of his reasons prevailed so far with the rest of the Senate, that they passed this definitive sentence, That *Gustavus* shall be protected by the State of *Lubeck*, till the cause be tried.

Proceeded by
Lubeck.

This served *Gustavus* his turn for the present, but he knew not how short a time it would continue: He knew that interests of Nations are soon changed, especially of such petty States as *Lubeck* was: Besides, he had too much other work to do, to continue long in one place, and thereupon secretly, without giving notice to any, save to his good Friend the Consul, whose counsel he took along with him, he gat aboard a Merchants ship, and sailed into the Bay of *Calmar*, into which he entred secretly, and finding that they stood upon their Guard against the *Danes*, he discovered himself to the Lady *Magnus*, that held the Castle, acquainting her with the manner both of his Captivity and escape; and taking advantage of the reports which then came of the sad examples of the *Danish* cruelty, and oppressions, he endeavoured to perswade, and encourage the Citizens to stand out in defence of the Liberties of themselves, their wives, and children, and not to trust to the fair words, and glozing promises of the *Danes*; but rather to endure a little hardship for a time, assuring them that the face of affairs would be shortly changed. The Citizens willingly hearkned to him, but some mercenary Souldiers, raising a muteny, had thought to have slain him: But the plot being discovered, the muteny was suppressed, and *Gustavus*

His escape to
Calmar.

advised for his safety to withdraw himself into his own Country, and there to obscure himself, till a more convenient time should enable him to carry on his design.

His Danger.

He knew this journey would be full of difficulty and danger; For his Way lay through *Smalland*, where the *Danish* Emissaries were very active to draw the *Suedes* to moderation, and to submit to the *Danish* yoke: yet through it he adventures, but with much grief of heart to see the Country people so miserably deluded; insomuch that he could not forbear, but told them, That they should consider the cases of many of their Country-men, who had as fair promises from the *Danes*, yet met with nothing but miserable bondage. Adding that there was much less danger in standing the push of the *Danish* Pike, than in committing themselves, and all that was dear unto them to so broken a Reed as their fair words, which had not only failed, but mortally wounded the Liberties of their Country-men, who had given credit to them.

Say what he could, divers *Suedes* of the better rank in those parts, being pre-engaged to the *Danes*, perswaded the people otherwise, saying, That the *Danes* aimed onely at the suppressing of such of the *Swedish* Nobility, as combined themselves against the Kings Government: But as for the people, the King was resolved to win them, and that they should never need to fear want so long as Salt and Herrings lasted: But if they would not be prevailed with, they were all but dead men, except speedily they forsook their Country, and fled.

Gustavus finding the people hereby so affrighted, that

that they had rather be slaves with quiet, than hazard themselves in War, he found it not convenient for him to stay any longer there, whereupon he secretly departed to *Terno*, amongst his own Tenants; and having there provided himself of necessaries he went thence to *Rafsnäs*, his Fathers house, where he concealed himself for the most part of that Summer, yet at length he adventured to discover himself to one that had been a faithful Friend to him, and once was Archbishop of *Upsal*, but in those troublesome times had been laid aside, and now was retired to a Monastery at *Gripsholm*. This man being now grown old, was fearful, and willing to be quiet, though upon hard conditions, wherefore he dissuaded *Gustavus* from stirring, alleading the great advantage that the King had, having an Army in the Field, and the Towns generally under his command, affirming that the King desired nothing more than to ingratiate himself with the people, for whose assurance he had granted Letters of Grace, and a general pardon, and therein particularly mentioning *Gustavus* himself; wherefore he advised him to give credit to the King, and to submit to his Government. And for my part (said the old man) I dare engage to procure from the King a special, full, and free pardon for you if you shall desire it. *Gustavus* heard him with silence, but liked not his undertaking; For (thought he) this old man may hope hereby to screw himself into the Kings favour: Neither indeed did he like to adventure himself upon the Kings promises, wherefore he resolved to wave this old mans counsel, and to retire himself back to *Rafsnäs*.

His remove in-
to his own
Country.

All this while the King continued in the siege of

Stockholme, where we formerly left him, endeavouring, partly by force, partly by messages of Grace to get possession of that City: For which end he first confirmed the agreement which his General had made with the Lords in the Field, and then granted a General pardon, and Act of Oblivion for whatsoever former faults. Then sent his hearty commendations, and fair promises to the people in the Country by the *Suedish* Lords that were of his party, yet in many places it met with little or no respect at all. Nevertheless in continuance of time, by the often droppings of his good words, serious Promises, Protestations, Execrations, Letters Patents, and Declarations under the Kings hand and seal, an entrance is made into the hearts of the men at *Stockholm*, the Gates at length are opened, and the King admitted entrance, and acknowledged by all to be their lawful King, and then was Crowned, and solemn Feasts were held for all sorts of people, both *Suedes*, *Danes* and *Germans*.

The King admitted into *Stockholme*.

Plots to destroy the *Suedish* Lords.

This was a fair morning, but who knows what a great-bellied day may bring forth? The King all this while was contriving the ruine of the *Suedish* Nobility, and now he hath them in one place within walls, and a sufficient guard upon them: But it must be done under the fairest pretence that may be, for the thing it self, was ugly and ill-favoured. Hence it was first resolved, that a Treason should be supposed to be plotted by the *Suedes* to massacre the *Danes*, and therefore the *Danes*, as in their own defence, should assassinate the *Suedes*; but this was thought dangerous, and might in the event turn to the destruction of the *Danes* in so populous a City, and who knows what men in despair may do?

Then

Then another way was propounded, viz. That the King must look upon the *Suedish* Lords as under the *Popes* curse; and sentence of Excommunication; and to draw forth the Kings justice with more colourable zeal, the Archbishop of *Upsal*, who had procured that sentence, must openly accuse the *Suedish* Lords as excommunicated persons, for Treason against the King, robbery of the Church, and as spoylers of the dignity and estate of the Archbishop, and therefore he must demand Judgement against them? And this was approved of.

And the better to draw these *Suedish* Lords together, a Feast is appointed the third day after the Coronation, at which also the *Germans* and *Danes* were present, and then before them all, the Archbishop of *Upsal* (though unwillingly when he saw what would be the event) steps forth before the King, and accuses the *Suedish* Lords of injury done by them to himself both in person and estate, and demanded satisfaction for his damages. The King liked not this charge as not being home enough, and therefore told him, that he forgot the *Popes* sentence, the crime of Treason, and his own place, who ought in zeal to the Church to have demanded punishment upon the persons offending. After which he commanded the Guards to seize upon the *Suedish* Lords, and (as some Writers say) shewed them so much mercy as to let them live till the next day, and in the *interim* he set Guards upon all the avenues to the City that none might be suffered to depart out of it. And the next day being *November 8. Anno Christi 1520*, not by legal trial; but in a way of Butchery, he murdered near a hundred of the Nobles, and

The *Suedish* Lords surprised,

and murdered.

Danish Cru-
elty.

and chief men of *Sueden*, and Citizens of *Stockholm*, and then letting loose the Souldiers upon the City and Country, all sorts of persons, Ecclesiastical, Civil, Great, Mean, Men, and Women, and Children suffered all manner of violences and deaths that Cruelty could devise; their rage extending, not onely to the living, but to the dead, towards whom they used all the opprobrious indignities that could be, the lively Character whereof may be described better by some *Dane* that saw it, or some that were interess'd in the *Scicilian Vespers*, or the *Parisian Nuptials*, or *Irish Massacre* than by my pen.

Covetousness.

After these horrid Murders, and outrages, Covetousness began to ascend the Stage, the King seizing upon all the estates, both of the dead and living, and to make all sure, the Liberties of *Sueden* being thus brought into the state of a dead man, they thought to buy them also so as they might never rise again: To which end, they set Guards in all places, published Edicts, and did not onely deprive the *Suedes* of their Armour, but of their Arms and Legs also, saying in scorn, *That a Swede could plow his ground well enough with one arm, and a wooden leg.*

Hypocrisie.

But the last, and worst of evils was abominable Hypocrisie. For this Christian Kings conscience (sooth) is pretended for what he did: He was touched with much compassion, and would not have done it, but that his conscience tyed him thereto in zeal to the Church, and obedience to the *Popes* sentence of Excommunication; and thus *Religion is made the Patron of all these Villanies*. Yet all this quieted not the Kings conscience, but he hastes out of *Sueden*, possibly fearing

fearing lest the ground should open her mouth, and swallow him up, or lest the fame of his cruelty should arrive before him in *Denmark*, and make that Nation abhor, and vomit him out.

But behold how vengeance follows him ! Now is he gone home, King of the three Kingdomes of the *Baltick* Sea, and to secure *Sueden*, he had left Guards in every place : But cruelty never conquered mens spirits, *A Tyrant may be feared of all, but is hated of all, and his own conscience so pursues him, that he can be quiet no where.* And so it fell out with this King, for within three years he lost all his three Kingdomes without adventuring one drop of blood, or striking one blow for them. The manner shall be after glanced upon, but my present work is to shew how *Sueden*, now under water, comes to lift up its head again.

This sad news at *Stockholme* coming to the ears of *Gustavus* now at *Rafsnæs*, and in particular the murder of his own Father *Ericus* amongst the rest of the Nobles, he was not at all discouraged, but rather provoked with a desire of revenge, and to rescue his Country from such barbarous Tyranny; yet what with grief and detestation of such execrable cruelty, and doubt that many would be affrighted thereby from appearing in their Countries cause, his spirit was much troubled, and rendred less able at the present to determine upon the manner of his proceeding; and therefore in all haste away he goes to the Mountain-people with this news; but they, scarce civilized, are little sensible of their Countries cause *Gustavus* therefore makes no stay there, but away he goes to a Castle in those parts commanded by one *Aaron Peter*, a Noble

What *Gustavus* then did,

man, whom once he knew to be well affected to the Liberties of his Country, and to him he discovered himself what he was, and what were his intentions, desiring his counsel; but he found the man, and others in those parts so amazed at the news of *Stockholme*, as that they forgot both themselves and the publick, and were rather willing to couch under any burden, than to make opposition against it; yea so fearful they were of being suspected by the *Danes*, that they rather desired to be esteemed wholly at their service, and especially *Aaron Peter*, who (though he pretended pity and compassion to *Gustavus* in this condition) and promised not onely security to his person if he would abide with him, but his best assistance in compassing the ends propounded by him; yet having drawn from him the utmost of his resolutions, after a few dayes, wherein he had carryed himself fairly to avoid suspicion, he gets himself abroad, and away he went to the *Danish* Lieutenant *Bruno*, and discovers to him the whole matter, as well concerning *Gustavus* his intentions; as what counsel himself had given him. But *Aaron* forgot one point of policy, which was, to let none know his intentions but his own heart; for he told his wife, whither, and what he went about; who being more true to her Country, and regardful of the Laws of common honesty and hospitality, than her Lord was, when he was gone, told *Gustavus*, whither her Lord was gone, and to what purpose, and therefore advised him forthwith to shurt for himself, furnishing him with her own horse to go to *Sneriso*, to one that had been *Gustavus* his Colleague in the University. The day following came *Bruno* the *Dane*, with twenty Soul-

Treachery.

A special providence.

Souldiers to apprehend *Gustavus* at *Aaron Peters* house; but his Lady told him that *Gustavus* was secretly departed the day before; and so the prey being lost, *Bruno* returns without sport. Thus God made a woman a great instrument in saving *Sweden* from miserable ruine.

Gustavus being come to *Suertso* found kinde entertainment; but consideration being had to ^{the} restless ~~the~~ pursuit of the *Danes*, it was thought convenient that he should not stay long there (for now the enemy hunted upon hot sent) and therefore he departed privately beyond the *Dallcarls* unto *Retwick*. These *Dallcarls* are a people of *Sweden* strong and hardy, men of resolution, and being inured to work hard in the Mines, were fit for action, whence (as some Writers note) they have their name of *Dallcarls* or *Carles*, or robustious men of the *Dales*, having by reason of their priviledges this advantage, that they are numerous and rich. To these *Gustavus* applies himself, and relates to them the particulars of the Massacre at *Stockholme*, whereby the *Suedes* had lost much of their best blood; he told them also what further danger the Nation was in, which he in good language set forth to the life (for he could no less skilfully manage his tongue than his arms.) The *Dallcarls* pitying the state of their Country, and having respect to themselves, and their friends, they told *Gustavus*, that they would adventure all that was dear to them to be revenged on the *Danes*, and to vindicate their Nation from bondage; onely they desired him that he would engage their Brethren of the Eastern *Dales* with them. This *Gustavus* willingly undertook, and forthwith departed to *Mora*, the

He goes to the
Dallcarles;

His speech to
them.

chief City of those Dales, whither coming about the latter end of *December*, the next day he obtained audience of them, and told them,

“That he should not need to make any preface to
“gain their attention, being perswaded that the matter
“of his discourse would ease him of that trouble; He
“therefore prayed them to take into consideration
“the perplexed condition of the *Suedish* Nation in
“those later years, that through their own distracti-
“ons, and civil, or rather uncivil discontents they had
“betrayed the Liberties of *Sueden* into the hands of
“strangers, who instead of seeking the publick weal,
“had wrought altogether for the advancement of their
“own interest, the people of *Sueden* being in the
“mean time glutted with misery, and drunk with
“tears, having themselves, their wives, children, and
“estates, prostituted to Murthers, Torments, Rapine,
“and all manner of contempt. I appeal (saith he)
“to the old men, they know it, they cannot forget it,
“and the young men may know it, if they will ask
“their Elders. And shall there never be an end of
“these miseries? Are the *Suedes* become a people
“alwayes to be trampled upon, devoured, and made
“food for forreigners? Call (I pray you) to minde
“the Government of that Tyrant, *Ericus* of *Pomer-*
“*land*, his Cruelties, Oppressions, and Extortions;
“and remember that you, that you I say of the Dales,
“rose unanimously in defence of your Country
“against him, and therein hazarded all that was dear
“to you, even to your lives, and thereby com-
“pelled him with shame to return to his own
“Country. And now look about you and consider,

“Are

" Are you in any better condition under the enraged
 " *Danes* ? a people that bear an immortal hatred to
 " our Nation , and are themselves hateful to all Na-
 " tions but themselves : Can you expect better deal-
 " ing now from them , than you have found hitherto
 " after an hundred years experience ? Hear the cries
 " of the Survivers at *Stockholm* , the fatherless and
 " widows, the dying groans of so many brave men of
 " this Nation, under the cruel torments, and unsatiable
 " butcheries , the abhorred Massacre of all sorts, de-
 " grees, and sexes , and ages, contrary to all Faith,
 " Promises , Oaths , Execrations and Engagements
 " under hand and seal. It may be they will now pro-
 " mise you Peace, Justice , and what not ? Did they
 " not give all these assurances to our dead Friends at
 " *Stockholme* ? and yet they brake all bonds and en-
 " gagements , and will you believe their words ? No,
 " no; the *Danes* are still the same men, or rather inhu-
 " mane Monsters that ever they were ; their hatred is
 " now broken forth into a flame, which will never be
 " quenched, so long as the riches , or any blood of the
 " *Suedish* Nobility lasteth, nor will ever cease till it hath
 " run over all the Country. Do you not every day
 " hear the sad news of this approaching evil ? Is it not
 " almost come to your own doors ? and will you sit still
 " till it hath seized on your neck ? Is it not much better
 " (if we must dye) to dye like Souldiers, than like slaves ?
 " Are the *Danes* more than men, and we less than wo-
 " men ? I am here present this day : Command my
 " estate, person, and life , and I will adventure all in
 " this service , if you will joyn with me in any way,
 " though I should serve but as a private Souldier. For

" I had rather dye a free Nobleman of *Sueden*, in the
 " defence of my Country, than live to see it underper-
 " petual vassallage.

Their answer.

The *Moreans* being much affected with this speech, professed their readiness to appear in the defence of their dear Friends and Country-men, in whose liberties and lives their own were wrapped up. Yet they prayed him, for the present, to retire himself to some place of privacy for his own safety, till their neighbours of the *Western Dales* might be in a fit posture to joyn with them, assuring him that in the *interim* they would not slack their preparations.

Gustavus took this answer courteously, and away he flies to the *Western Dalles* bordering upon the Mountains, to gain them into a posture, and there also meeting with fresh news of the bloody cruelty of the *Danes*, he goes once more amongst the Mountains, where having to deal with sharp weather, rough and unknown wayes, more trodden by wilde beasts than men; yet indignation against the enemies, and zeal for his Country, adde new courage, and resolution against all difficulties, and dangers, and at last he makes trial of the peoples minde again: But they, scarcely sensible of any thing but what was under ground, and knowing no happiness above mining, nor any misery worse than it, turned a deaf ear to all that he spake, till at length *Gustavus* came to the house of *Laurence Olai*, an active, and brave Knight in those parts, who had sometime served *Steno Stur*, the Governour, with much valour and faithfulness. He, joyning with *Gustavus*, told the Mountainers that *Gustavus* had given them true intelligence concerning the *Suedish* miseries under

He meets
with new dif-
ficulties,

Sir *Laurence*
Olai assists
him.

under the *Danish* cruelties at *Stockholme*, and other places : Further adding, that he had received late information, that the *Danish* King intended a Royal progress through all *Sweden*, to receive homage of the people, and had by Proclamation enjoyned Gibbets to be erected in all places, and that Letters were coming down into the Country to provide quarter for the *Danish* Souldiers that were to be as a guard to the King in his Progress.

This news wrought effectually upon them, and as they were considering what to do, messengers came from the Country of the *Dallcarles* round about to seek after *Gustavus*; but he was gone further out of reach, to *Lima*. Hereupon the Mountainers resolve to joyn with those of the *Dales* to request *Gustavus* his speedy return, whom they would make their Captain; and accordingly he came back with the messengers, where he found the people assembled, who received him with loud acclamations of joy, and made him Governour and Captain of the *Dallcarles*, swearing Fealty, and obedience to him, assigning him a Lifeguard of choice young men for his honour and safety.

He Arms.

Thus one great work is over. *Gustavus* had all this while to do with a people whose principles were fixed in their manufactures; and though they had many eyes, and could discern things nigh at hand well enough, yet could they not discern the times, nor from thence make conclusions what they ought to do. For God never made all men for all things. Miners are no good State-men, nor State-men good Miners, and therefore its the less marvel that *Gustavus* spent

spent an whole year in this painful Pilgrimage, with continual labour and danger, and all to make this people sensible of their condition, and willing to defend their Liberties before it was too late; and yet could he prevail nothing, till the *Danish* Feast at *Stockholme* (not above two moneths past) roused them out of their security. But now *Gustavus* was in a posture for the Field, as a Captain for the Liberties of *Sueden*, against a known enemy, or Tyrant rather, who thought that he had settled his Government in *Sueden*, both by Law and Arms.

Gods providence to the *Suedes*.

Nor indeed can this work be looked upon but as a special work of Divine Omnipotency, in compassion to an oppressed, and undone people, that so strong a principle of Magnanimity, Zeal, and Constancy, should lead one man thus in this service through all opposition and danger; but these are but small things in comparison of what remained, and was further done by him.

He raiseth an Army.

Gustavus being thus engaged, proceeds to gather his Army, and to him *Laurentius Olai* joyns, together with the friends and servants of thole Noble men who were murdered at *Stockholme*, and others disinterested who were in danger of the *Danish* interdict, and with these he begins first to march on *Candlemas* day, *Anno Christi* 1520, leading his men to the Copper mountains, where he surpris'd the Governour and other Officers belonging to the Mines, seizing upon all the *Danish* goods, the Kings Revenue, and the Tenth, and so returned into the Valley.

Seizeth on the Kings Treasure.

By this means he gained in some measure a stock for the encouragement of his Souldiers, whereby his

Army

Army encreased daily, and he facing about, went to the other Mountains, where, by general consent, he was made their Lord and Governour: After which he divided his Army into two parts, leaving one in the Mountains under the command of *Peter Suono*, a famous Captain, to whom many of the Inhabitants joynd themselves, and these he kept as a reserve, to assist him as occasion required.

He divides his Army.

With the other part of his Army he marched into the Country of *Helsing*, which on one side bordered upon the Sea, having the valley of the *Dalleailes* on the other; and this he did, as well to gain a passage by Sea, if occasion should require, as to secure his Army the more by such good neighbourhood: But whilst he thus advanced into *Helsing*, Letters were sent unto the Mountainers from the Archbishop of *Upsal*, the old enemy of the *Suedish* Liberties, signed by himself, his Father *Ericus Trolli*, and *Bennet Canutus*, who stiled themselves the Council of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, the purport whereof was, to beseech them to be mindful of their duty to their Sovereign the King, and of the peace of the Kingdome of *Sweden*, with large promises of the Kings grace and favour to them, and of a safe conduct to *Gustavus*, if he would lay down Arms; adding that by so doing, differences might be composed for their great advantage: But all the entertainment these Letters met with was, Indignation, and Scorn.

The *Helsingers* gave *Gustavus* no harsh entertainment, yet was his presence not very acceptable, they besought him that they might be spared from present engagement in Arms, their Country being exhausted

He advances into *Helsing*

From thence
into *Gestrict*.

and much impoverished by the late troubles: *Gustavus* hereby found that their temper was not for his turne; he must have men of resolution, and therefore he accepted of their submissive answer, and leaving them to second thoughts, he marched thence into *Gestrict*, where the people readily submitted to him, and so he returned to the Dales again, having by this march encreased his Army to the number of five thousand good old Souldiers, who having formerly hidden themselves in several places, now repaired to him.

The Archbishop of *Upsal* finding what little respect his Letters had with the Mountainers, he resolved to do that by force, which his fair language could not effect; and therefore he sent *Henry de Milen*, with a commanded party of Souldiers into the Dales, to reduce them betimes, and to crush the Bird in the Egge.

The *Danes* are
infatuated.

Gustavus being informed of his coming, advanceth to meet him, *de Milen* hearing this, retires from him, professing to the Archbishop, that *Gustavus* was not to be dealt with by parties: But the truth is, a spirit of trepidation had possessed the *Danes*, or else being in the Field, as they were, they would never have suffered an enemy thus to gather under their noses, nor have dallied thus with *Gustavus* by parties, when they had a just Army in readines.

Gustavus was otherwise minded, he had begun, and now there was no retreating; He will now let all men know that he was so far from fearing the *Danes*, that he undertakes a long march to finde them out, and fight them within their own walls, and accordingly he

he advanceth to *Westeras*, a City having a Castle, and being rich by a continual Market of Copper and Iron brought daily from the Mountains thither, and therefore there the *Danes* had placed a Gariſon.

He marches to
Westeras.

Gustavus by this march also had much encreased his Army by the confluence of the Country to him, whereupon he divided his Army into three Battels, the Van was commanded by *Laurentius Olai*, the middle by *Laurentius Ericus*, whom he commanded to march through the valley of *Balingſafs*, and to encamp near to *St. Olai* Chappel, but not to attempt any thing without further order.

The Enemy not minding to ſtay their leiſure, and obſerving the manner of *Laurentius* his approach, gave him a full charge, eſpecially with their Horſe, which was ſo bravely entertained by *Laurentius*, that the *Danes* gave ground, and at laſt both Horſe and Foot were driven to a diſorderly retreat, whom *Laurentius* purſued. *Gustavus* hearing hereof, and fearing leſt his mens forwardneſs might carry them beyond their Poſt, he haſted into the Van, though with ſome danger to his perſon, and with the loſs of ſome that were nigh to him, and when he came, he found *Laurentius* engaged even unto the ſtreets of the City in purſuit of the flying Enemy, ſo that it was dangerous to bring them to a ſtand, whereupon he gave them their liberty, and with them he follows the enemy through the ſtreets. But the *Danes*, when they came into the Market place, rallied themſelves, and made a ſtand behind their Ordnance, which were ready planted to give the *Suedes* a ſalutation upon their firſt approach: But *Laurentius Ericus* with the middle Bat-

The *Danes* are
beat en.

Westerås-
ken.

tel, found out a nearer way, and was already gotten into the City, and now charged the *Danes* in their Rear; making them quit their place, and their Ordnance, and thereby saved much blood which might have been shed of the *Swedish* side. The Souldiers in the Castle seeing their Friends thus beaten, shot fiery bullets, whereby the City was fired in sundry places, but the *Swedish* Souldiers quenched the fire, and saved the City. The *Danes* in the City being fled to their intrenchments, defended themselves till they had strengthened the Garrison in the Castle, and then by the help of their Boats, gat them to *Storkholme*.

This Victory, as it discouraged the Enemy, so it much encouraged many secret Friends to their Country to forsake the *Danes*, and to take part with *Gustavus*, amongst whom was *Arvidus*, a *West Goth*, whom *Gustavus* knew so well, that he presently sent him with part of the Army to besiege the Castle of *Steckburrow*, and to watch the motion of the people in those parts. Other Castles also were besieged; but *Laurentius Ericus* was sent with his Brigade to *Upsal*, and *Laurentius Olai*, with the Country people that now flocked to him from all parts, was appointed to second him. As they marched thitherward they intercepted the Scouts of the Governour of *Upsal*; and the next day Letters were sent from the Governour, and Magistrates of *Upsal* to the *Swedish* Commander in chief, to desire liberty according to their wonted manner every year upon *St. Ericus* day, to hold their Procession with the shrine of *St. Ericus*, to the Church of old *Upsal*, being half a mile without their

City;

City, to which, answer was returned, That it belonged to the *Suedes*, not to the *Danes* to hold that solemnity. The Governour though he missed the Proceſſion, yet would not loſe his Feaſt, he therefore would let the *Suedes* know, that he could keep his Feaſt though the *Swediſh* Army waited upon his Trenches, and accordingly held his Feaſt in the Archbishops Garden. But the next morning before break of the day, the *Swediſh* Army came to the walls, ſeized upon the Guards, and entred the City, whiſt the *Danes* half aſleep, and as *Uſſal* taken. yet ſcarce ſober, being ſurprized with a Pannick fear, fled out of the City, ſhrieking of it as they went: But the *Suedes* appointing a party to quench the fire, purſued the *Danes* till they had paſſed the River, in which paſſage the Governour was ſhot with an arrow, whereof he died at *Stockholm*.

About eight dayes after comes *Gustavus* from *Weſterafs* to *Uſſal*, and calling the Canons of the College together, he aſked them whether they were *Suedes* or *Danes*, charges them with the blood, ſpoyl, and miſery of *Sweden*, affirming that they, and their Archbiſhop had nourished all the Rebellions in *Sweden* againſt their lawful Governours, that they were betrayers of their Countries Liberties into the hands of Forreigners; that ere long they muſt be reſponſible for thoſe actions, and in the mean time he required Fealty from them, and ſecurity that in their ſtations they would maintain the peace and liberty of the Country. They humbly answer by Petition, deſiring that he would conſider their engagement to their Archbiſhop, now at *Stockholme*, and that they might have leave to ſend to him to ſee if they could prevail to take

him along with them in this engagement, promising to write to him to invite, and periwade him heretunto. This *Gustavus* was content to grant, and wrote himself by the same messenger: But what other message the Canons sent privately, the event renders somewhat doubtful. For the Letters were received with contempt, and the messenger detained, the Archbishop saying, that he would carry an answer in his own person; and accordingly he caused a Body of Horse and Foot immediately to be drawn forth, with which he marched with that speed and secrecie, that they were within two miles of *Upsal*, before *Gustavus* heard any thing of their coming.

Gustavus now too late, began to consider his own weakness, his Army being divided in so many severall imployments, and the enemies (if he was not misinformed) exceeding him in strength: whereupon he debated with himself what were fittest for him to do: the City was unassured to him, if not assured against him: If he retreat, it would be construed for a flight: If he stay, he must put all to the hazard: He considered also that though he might suffer in his Honour by a Retreat, yet that might be repaired again, but if he lost his men, that loss would be irreparable both as to his own honour, the liberty of *Sueden*, and the safety of his Party.

*Gustavus quits
Upsal.*

Hereupon he speedily withdrew out of the City into a Wood not far off: and the Archbishop without opposition entring the City, is soon informed thereof, and as eagerly pursues him to the Wood, where the *Suedes* had made a stand, and gave not ground for all that the *Danes* could do against them.

As

As *Gustavus* was bestirring himself from place to place, his Horse fell into a Quagmire, where, being espied by the *Danes*, he was knock't from his Horse, and had been at their mercy; but that a party of about twenty of the *Suedish* Horse came seasonably to his rescue, and horsed him again; after which, returning to charge the enemy afresh, they retired, but yet in good order, which *Gustavus* observing, he was willing to make a golden Bridge for a flying enemy, and so let them go quietly to *Upsall*.

His danger
and delivery.

Gustavus had now leisure to consider what to do: and found by experience a double error in his proceedings: First that he had divided his Army into so many parts, that none of them was of it self sufficient to oppose the enemy in case they should gather to an head: the other, that in his March (contrary to *Cæsar's* Rule) he had not reduced the enemies Castles; but left them, as Birds of prey, to fall upon any of his Parties, when they should be weak. He considered also, that if now he should leave the wood, he was environed with those Castles; and had the enemies Army entire, and near him. What shall he now do? Men bring themselves into straits, and plunges; but God brings them out. *Gustavus* had a party now besieging the Castle of *Westerass*, who hearing of the fight between the Archbishop, and *Gustavus*, rose, and halted to him. *Gustavus* being thus recruited, turns to the left hand, leaving *Upsal* on the right, and so bended his march towards *Stockholme*, supposing that they might meet with the Archbishop, before he could recover *Stockholme*; and herein his expectation was not frustrated: For if *Gustavus* committed two

Gods provi-
dence.

errors,

The *Danes*
again are bea-
ten.

His Army
much increa-
sed

The King of
Denmark hated
at home.

errors, the Archbishop fell into one which was worse than both of them, and that was, that being returned to *Upsal*, he considered not that he had left *Gustavus* in a posture of defence, who also might possibly recruit his Army, and so meet with him in his return to *Stockholme* if he made not the better haste; and so indeed it fell out, *Gustavus* met him, fought him, and after an hours dispute, *Gustavus* his Arguments were of that force, that the Archbishop hardly escaped into *Stockholme* with tenth part of his Army.

Gustavus follows him, and entrenches his Army near to the City, but considering that the City was full of *Danes*, and that most of the *Suedes* after the late Massacre had forsaken their houses, and that it was like to hold out long, he was casting with himself how to increase his Army, but he was soon eased of that care: For the *Helsingers*, that hitherto had concealed themselves, now came unanimously, and offer their service to him, and the like did many old Souldiers of *Germany*, insomuch as he was less able to provide quarter for them than men.

But what doth the King of *Denmark* all this while? Is not he ready by this to march with a compleat Army to save a Kingdome that is ready to be lost? No doubt but he had a good minde to it; but his condition was such that he durst not stir from home. For as he went out of *Sueden* without one *God-speed*, so he came into *Denmark* without one *Welcome-home*. He was so dyed in blood that all were afraid of him: His Victory was abominated, his person odious, and his Government grown intolerable; wherefore finding that

that he could raise no Army at home, and that if he should go out of *Denmark* he might lose all there, and get nothing but blows abroad; he commands his Governour in the Isle of *Gothland* to relieve the *Danes* in *Sueden* as occasion should require; in pursuance whereof, he repairs thither, and after one repulse suffered, he relieved the Castle of *Steckburg*, besieged by *Arvidus*, and then changing the Garrison, he committed the keeping of it to one *Bernard de Milen*.

Gustavus considering that the siege of that place would prove dangerous to *Arvidus*, if the Country, and neighbourhood were not assured to him; he sent to the Bishop of *Hincopen*, and having prevailed with him, by his advice, he summoned a meeting of all the States of East and West *Gothland*, *Smalland*, *Vermland*, and of the *Dales*; and when they were assembled, he prayed them to take into consideration the condition of their Country: that the misery thereof was occasioned onely through their divisions and variety of interests; and the Government having been of late in the hands of Forreigners, the Publick weal hath thereby been much endamaged. He said, he should not need to enlarge upon the particular burdens which they felt and groaned under. The great business which he desires them to take into consideration was, to advise, and conclude upon the means of redress: As for himself he would deliver his opinion freely and cleerly, *viz.* That no means on earth could cure these evils, but a speedy and effectual unanimity, and joynt endeavour to restore the old principles of Government, by one supreme Governour, and a free

A Convention
of the Estates
in *Sueden*.

Parliament of the States, as formerly had been used: But if they had any further advice therein, he earnestly desired to be informed by them, assuring them that whatsoever they should judge meet to be done in order to a settlement, he would endeavour the accomplishment of the same, though to the sacrificing of his life, and all that was dear to him.

This Speech being ended, there was a joynt acclamation, and assurance given, that they all fully, and freely assented to his opinion, and were ready to assist him therein to the utmost, withall, giving him great thanks for his undertaking their rescue out of the Tyrants hands, earnestly requesting him to proceed till he had perfected the same, whereunto they would constantly contribute their prayers to God for his gracious assistance, and for the protection of his person; and for his further assurance, they do not only acknowledge, and promise submission to him as their lawful Governour; but they pray that it may not seem grievous to him to take upon him the place, and title of their lawful Lord and King.

They proffer
him the King-
dome.

Which he re-
fuseth.

To this *Gustavus* answered, That he took up Arms against the common enemy of his Country, not aiming at Rule, but at the peoples liberty from the iron yoke of the *Danish* Tyranny, under which themselves, their wives and children lay bound day, and night; That he called not himself to the work, but onely offered his assistance therein; That he was invited to command by the *Transylvanian* *Suedes* of the *Dales*; That his detestation of that abhorred Butchery at *Stockholme* (wherein, not onely many Personages fit to do their Country service, but many of his own blood lost their lives,

lives and estates) did enrage his spirit to it, so that he thought nothing dangerous for him to adventure, so that he might take vengeance for it, which made him yeeld to the invitation of the men of the *Dales*: and if you also (said he) will joyn your aid in this work, and can confide in my command, I will not refuse to be your Captain and Governour untill the enemy be fully vanquished, and our Country cleared from them. But as touching the making of a King, you may take that into consideration when the War shall be fully finished; For then whomsoever the States of *Saeden* shall elect to be King or Governour, his will I be to serve in any condition.

This Speech was received with joyful acclamations, and an unanimous vote that *Gustavus* should be accepted for their Lord and Governour; and accordingly all that were present sware Fealty to him, and faithful obedience next under God.

This was a little Parliament of part of the Nation, and chiefly intended to assure those places where the War was, and to unite them in a more vigorous prosecution thereof; and the success was answerable: For hereupon many Towns and Castles of *West-Gothland*, and *Smalland*, readily surrendered, and submitted to *Gustavus*, whose Deputies being sent to the Council, and convinced in their judgements of the justness of the cause, the people had obliged themselves to stand to what their Deputies should conclude. Hereupon *Gustavus* finding less need of employing so many Souldiers in these neighbouring parts, he sends a party into *Finland*, to which many of the people joyned: Amongst whom was one *Grabb*, a

Many joyn
with him.

Abbo besieged

valiant man, and skilful Sea-Captain, who having armed a few ships, with them assaulted such places upon the Coast as held for the *Dane*, sometimes in one part, sometimes in another; surprizing Towns, slaying many, doing all by night, and before the next morning he was gone, no body knew whither, nor which way. This caused the Enemies to divide their Forces, to guard so many places at once; and in the mean time the *Suedes* sat down before *Abbo*, though they were there hard matched, and sometimes over-matched by the *Danes*; for as yet that part of the Country had not felt the *Danish* cruelty, though if they had prospered, they should not long have escaped the same.

Stockburgh
surrendered.

The Castle of *Stockburgh*, after above half an years siege, was taken by *Arvidus*, the Governour whereof being committed to Prison, after he had lain there two moneths, he submitted to *Gustavus*, and sware Fealty to him. The Governour of the Isle of *Gothland* being ignorant of these passages, came with a Fleet, well provided to relieve the Castle; but when he came to the *Promontory*, he was suddenly assailed by the *Saedish* ships which lay behinde the same; and after the loss of six hundred of his men, he was glad to betake him to his wings. Shortly after, *Arvidus* was sent with part of his Army to block up *Calmar*, the rest being sent to the Camp before *Stockholme*; For the *Danish* Admiral, after the late defeat, having repaired his losses with a new supply of men and ships, came to the relief of them in *Stockholme*, and the *Danes* being strengthened by this recruit, sallied out of the City, and beat up one of the *Suedish* Quarters,

Stockholme re-
lieved by the

fo

so that for a moneths space, the City remained disingaged.

Gustavus now finding by experience that *Stockholme* was a morsel too big for him to swallow, without further strength, he bent his principal industry for the recovery of other places Garrisoned by the *Danes*, and amongst other places the City of *Nicopen* was at length yeilded up to him by the Governour, *Henry Canzow*, with whom Letters were found from the *Danish* Tyrant, which required him to put to death all the *Suedes* that came into his power, especially those of the Nobility: But as he had too much humanity in him to execute so bloody a Decree, so he liked it not in others, and therefore he told *Gustavus*, that Letters of the same purport were sent to other places, and he believed they would be put in execution, which fell out accordingly in *Finland*; for the Governour of *Abbo*, being blocked up (though not formally besieged) by the *Suedes*, caused divers of the chief men of *Finland* to be assassinated: But *Ericus Flemming* being forewarned of the danger, and now in the Governours hand, offered his service, with so many *Suedes* as adheared to the *Danes*, to adventure their lives the night following to beat the *Suedes* before the City out of their quarters, which being liked by the Governour, he assigned him such men as he desired, who accordingly entred the *Suedish* quarters, but liked their entertainment so well, that they returned no more into *Abbo*: and thus he escaped that danger which many others shortly after smarted under.

Nicopen yeilded to the *Suedes*.

Gustavus having gained *Nicopen*, the Castles of
A a a 3 *Tineslor*,

Tineslor and
Westersas sur-
rendred.

The *Lubeckers*
assist him.

Tineslor, and *Westersas*, presently after were delivered up to him, the latter having endured a siege of nine moneths: But finding all his labour before *Stockholme* lost, unless he could encrease his strength at Sea, he sent to *Lubeck* for men of War, and Ammunition, who readily assented being oppressed by the *Danes* in their Trade. Nine ships were sent to *Gustavus* within a few moneths with Ammunition, and Souldiers, who had a great minde to see *Gustavus* before they would engage; but being satisfied when they had seen him, they all swear to be faithful to him, part of these *Gustavus* sent to the siege of *Calmar*, the other part he carried along with him to the siege of *Stockholme* (as it was the policy of War amongst the *Romans* to divide their Auxiliaries) and then he sent the Countrymen to their several habitations. Within a few weeks after, eight more ships of War arrived from *Lubeck* at *Stockholme*, and being thus more secured at Sea, *Gustavus* re-inforced the siege in a more regular way than formerly.

The *Suedes* before *Abbo* finding the work too hard for them, withdrew their Forces, and the Governour being now at liberty, by order from the *Danish* Admiral, prepared a ship of War, with Ammunition, and Souldiers, for the relief of *Stockholme*, which early in a morning coming to the Fore-land, sent out a Skiffe for discovery, which was intercepted by *Ericus Flemming*, now Admiral of the *Suedes*, who clearing the men out of the Skiffe, and manning it with *Suedes* in the same fashion, he sent it back, into which, when the Governour of *Abbo* was entred to enquire after news, they presently apprehended him, and carried him away.

away, and being hardly chased by the *Danish* ships, they suddenly fell amongst the *Suedes*, and being charged by them, some were taken, and others escaped. But the Governour of *Abbo* being brought to *Gustavus*, he presently hanged him on a Tree, for his cruel assassinating the Nobility of *Finland*.

The *Danes*
beaten at Sea.

Within a few weeks after the *Danish* Admiral came with five Ships for the relief of *Stockholme*, but being within view, and not liking the Coast, he returned without doing any thing, and *Gustavus* now finding the Sea safely guarded, he prosecuted his siege more vigorously, making his approaches to the very Suburbs, and by Bridges closing his Quarters. Hereupon the City began to be in distress, and many escaping out, submitted to *Gustavus*: Amongst these, a Spy is sent out, who under colour of submission, was to make discovery, and as occasion served, either to return into the City, or to haste into *Denmark* to acquaint the King with the state of their affairs. This Spy was discovered, and being searched, Letters were found sown up in his cloaths, whereupon he was convicted, and executed: And this being known in the City, and judged to be by intelligence from some within, all the *Suedes* were ordered to depart, but such as would take up Arms for the *Danes*. On the other side, *Gustavus* having intelligence of preparations, intended for the relief of the *Danes* in *Sweden*, he sent a party into *Norway* to begin a War there, who meeting with little opposition, soon made themselves Masters of the Province of *Wicken*, the Castle of *Carlsburg*, the *Danes* being in no posture to oppose them, as the case stood.

Stockholme
straitly besieged.

He begins a
War in *Nor-*
way.

For

The King of
Denmark flies
into Germany.

For *Christian* the second, then King of *Denmark*, by reason of his injustice and oppressions of his own people, whilst he invaded the lives, liberties, and estates of all sorts, and for his execrable murders, and perfidiousness in *Sueden*; his contumelious outrages towards strangers, and his uncivil behaviour towards his own Queen, who was sister to the Emperour, *Charles* the fifth, having hereby provoked all men against him, but more especially the Duke of *Holst*, he proclaimed War against the King, and the Nobility of *Denmark*, perceiving that they were distrusted by their King, who relying upon strangers, intended to bring them into Government in *Denmark*, and so to rule his Kingdome by force and rigour, they joyned with the Duke, and invited him into *Fusland*, where all joyned with him. And *Christian* now too late, though too soon to him, concluding that the Duke would be made King, leaves his Throne and Country, providing for his safety elsewhere; and shipping himself, his Queen, Children, and all the Treasure he could scrape together, he sailed into *Germany*; first going to the Duke of *Brandenburgh*, and then to the Elector of *Saxony*: and after some time he found means to raise an Army for the recovery of his Kingdome, but not keeping touch with his Souldiers, he lost his Army and Kingdome a second time; whereupon despairing of good success, he fled into *Flanders*, where he lost his Queen, the greatest comfort he had left him in the world; not onely in regard of her relation to the Emperour, but in regard of her excellent vertues, whereby she was so much beloved of the *Danes*, that they offered to submit to her as to their lawful Queen if she would stay in

Then into
Flanders.

in *Denmark*; but she, like her self, chose to live in exile with her Husband, rather than to reign without him.

A good Wife.

The *Danes* in *Sweden* understood these things, and those of them that were besieged in the Castle of *Calmar* were ordered to hold out as long as they could, and then to fire the City, & ship themselves for the Isle of *Gothland*; but the Citizens being informed hereof, in the night time opened their gates, and let in the *Suedes*, who soon made themselves Masters of the Castle, and after that, of the Isle of *Oland*, whereof when tidings came to *Stockholme*, they proffered to surrender, but upon such conditions as *Gustavus* would not accept of.

Calmar surrendered.

Now did the *Swedish* affairs seem to promise a calm night at hand; whereupon *Gustavus* thought it convenient to endeavour a settled form of Government, for which end he summoned a general meeting of all the States at *Stregness*, who being assembled, he told them, that now things were in a hopeful way of peace; that it was necessary for the publick peace, and justice of the Nation, that the antient form of Government should be revived: That for the present they see the Nation without a supream Magistrate, and without a Senate: That the former hath murdered the later, and the people ejected the former: That he hoped in a short time to render an account of the Nation reunited, and in a peaceable condition, which is the end of War; but some person must be elected to govern them when in a peaceable condition, and a Senate must be constituted according to the antient custome of *Sweden*, who may elect the supreme Governour: That they, the States of *Sweden*, are the only first movers in this work, and have power to constitute

A Parliament called.

this Senate anew, and therefore he prays them to proceed according to their discretions for the settlement of the Government, and such instruments as are necessary, and conducing thereto.

A Senate established,

The States seeing their way clear before them, without further demur proceed to the election of a Senate, consisting of some of those of the former Senate who had escaped the enemies fury, and continued faithfull: to whom they added others of the great men: and having constituted them, they granted to them the same power, and priviledges which the ancient Senate had, and in particular, to elect one such person as they should think meet to be their lawfull King or Governour.

They choose Gustavus King

The Senate being thus chosen, and impowred, they unanimously elect *Gustavus* for their King, and send a Message thereof to him, humbly requesting that he will not refuse to take the Kingdome upon him, and to perfect the work of restoring liberty to the Nation, and vindicating the same from all Tyranny.

which he refuses.

Gustavus having heard this Message, answered, That the burthen of governing a Kingdome was too heavy for his shoulders. That it was one thing to govern in Warre, wherein he was trained, and another thing to be a King, wherein he was not skilled. That he was well wearied already with the dangers, cares, and labours of the Warre, and now having brought the Nation into a posture of subsistence in peace, he hath his ends, and therefore desires them to rest contented therewith, and that they would make choice of some other person of the Nobility of *Sueden* to be their King, assuring them that himself would gladly

serve

serve under him whom they should choose, and so thanking them for their good opinion of him, he dismissed the Messengers.

The States, and Senate having heard this answer, were no wise satisfied with it, and therefore renew their requests (the Popes Legate also joyning with them) and tell *Gustavus* plainly that they will not receive any negative, nor can he evade the election if he regard the Senate, or convention of States, or the peoples good.

They press
him again.

Gustavus hereupon is at length overswayed, and yet abhorring all unworthy self-ends, he professed his acceptance only upon the same grounds which moved them to elect him : and that withall he was convinced that the work was of that nature that he was unable to go through with it, & therefore he would rest upon the Lord of *Sabbath* for his assistance, and protection, and next under him, upon the Lords of *Sueden*, whose wisdom, care, and industry he much prized; especially desiring the earnest, and daily prayers of all the people, upon which account only he would submit to their desires. And so, according to the ancient custome, by mutuall obligations of Oaths, *Gustavus* is solemnly declared, and proclaimed King of *Sueden* : yet refused he to be crowned till five years after.

He submits.

His Piety.

The first thing that was done after this election was the requitall of the *Lubeckers*, for adventuring their men, Ships, and estates, with the *Suedes*, against the *Danes*; in recompence whereof the *Suedes* granted, that they would never make peace with the *Danes* without the consent of the *Lubeckers*. That upon the surrender of *Stockholme*, such wares, goods, and debts

The *Lubeckers*
required.

The Articles
of agreement.

therein, as the *Lubeckers*, and *Dantzickers* should own upon Oath, should be secured, and returned to them. That the *Lubeckers* shall be paid for their service. That the Sea should be free for them, and that they shall have a free trade in *Sueden*. That they only of all forreign Nations shall have a free Trade in the Ports of *Stockholme*, *Calmar*, *Sarcopen*, and *Abbo*. That the King shall do them right. That he shall never set prizes upon any of their Merchandise, nor compell them to sell, or leave their goods against their wills. That their goods and estates wracked, shall be restored to the owners, without loss. That their goods sold in *Sueden* by their Mariners, or servants without order, shall be restored to their owners, and the offenders punished. That the King of *Sueden* shall not harbour any of the enemies of *Lubeck*. That if any difference shall arise between the *Suedes*, and *Lubeckers*, the same shall be ordered by four Lords of *Sueden* sent to *Lubeck*, and so many Citizens of *Lubeck* joyning with them. These were confirmed under the hands, and Seals of the King, and Lords of *Sueden*, and Commissioners of *Lubeck*. This was more than a recompence to the City of *Lubeck*, had they been as careful to keep touch with the *Suedes* as the *Suedes* were with them.

Stockholme sur-
rendred.

Shortly after *Stockholme* was surrendred to the King, who entred the same in the month of *June*, after welnigh three years siege, wherein the *Danes* had time enough to have relieved it, if they had been convinced of any right that they had to the Kingdome of *Sueden*. Upon his entry he was proclaimed King of *Sueden* and *Gothland*, with great applause and joy of all,

all forts. Hereupon divers Towns and Castles were surrendred to him; and in the reare, the Dukedome of *Bleking*, and the Town and Castle of *Elsburgh*, the onely commodious Port that the *Suedes* have into the Western Sea. But still the Dukedome of *Finland*, and the adjacent Countries were out of the Kings possession; and therefore beginning now to study good Husbandry for those people whom he must own, he dismissed his Forreign forces, and the residue of his Army he sent into *Finland* under the command of *Ivar*, and *Ericus Fleming*, who within the space of one year reduced all that Country into obedience, and the Northern people submitted upon the credit of their Neighbours, so that the whole Kingdome was now united under the Kings command, and he had nothing to do but to study peace and justice. And accordingly he first made peace with the *Muscovite*, having none other enemy whom he need to fear, nor indeed any that bordered upon him, but the *Muscovite* on the East, and the *Dane* on the West; and as for the *Danes*, their condition was this:

Finland reduced.

Peace settled.

Peace with the Muscovite.

King *Christian* being dead, *Frederick*, Duke of *Holst*, being sent for, came into *Denmark*, and by the Nobility was elected and crowned King some years before *Gustavus* was crowned in *Sweden*, though *Gustavus* was in Arms divers years before him. Both these coming to the Throne upon the same title of the peoples liberty; and knowing how necessary peace with one another would be, a mutual Treaty is propounded by the King of *Denmark*, and in order thereto, the King of *Sweden* propounded an interview, wherein he stood not upon punctilio's, but proffered

The Duke of Holst chosen King of Denmark.

The two new
Kings meet.

to come to the King of *Denmark* in some convenient place upon security of a safe conduct, which the King of *Denmark* granted as soon as it was demanded. The place of meeting was *Ancona*, in the confines of *Scania*, where, in the presence of the Lords of both Nations, an interview is had; and after mutual salutations and complements, the King of *Denmark* spake of the miseries, and calamities that had befallen both the Nations for divers years last past, declaring their present dangers also by reason of the continual contrivances of *Christian* their late King, which (saith he) will be much heightened if our discords should continue: For my own part therefore I am for peace with *Sueden* upon just and honourable terms. *Gustavus* answered, that he held peace between the Nations convenient and commendable, and was willing to hearken thereto upon equal conditions.

The King of
Denmark's
speech.

The King of *Denmark* began with proposing the continuance of the union of the three Northern Kingdoms according to the Articles of *Calmar*, which (said he) were confirmed by the Oaths of the Deputies of all the three Nations; yet he desired not the change of the present Government of *Sueden*, but onely that *Gustavus* should acknowledge him Superior. *Gustavus* secretly disliking this proposal, answered modestly, that for his part he was unwillingly drawn to accept of the *Suedish* Crown. That he could wish that both Nations could flourish under one head. But (said he) *the agreement of Calmar is dissolved by the misgovernment of the late King; and if the Danes could not all this while gain their expectations by force of Arms, much less can they think it rational for the Suedes*

The King of
Suedens answer

Suedes to yeeld up by Treaty the Liberties of their Country, which are dearer to them than their lives, as the late Wars have demonstrated. Neither can himself, who is sworn to maintain the Liberties of his Country, allow of such tearms, much less advise his people to consent thereto. Yet for my own part, though I will not be a subject, yet I desire to be a friend, true, and faithful to the King of Denmark, and am ready to gratifie him in all things agreeable to equity.

The King of Denmark perceiving hereby the unreasonableness of his former demands, tells the King of Sweden in plain tearms, that himself was desirous of a firm peace, and league with him, if Sweden would be content with its antient limits, and would yeeld up what in these late Wars they had gained from Denmark, especially the Dukedome of Bleking.

The King of Sweden answered, that himself valued the peace of both Nations beyond that petty Dutchy, and therefore he would consult with his Lords about it, and accordingly it was assented to.

But the proposal about the Isle of *Gothland*, proved more difficult: It was in the possession of the *Danes*, but claimed as belonging to the Crown of Sweden, yet at last they agreed to lay that debate aside till a more convenient time: and thus peace was concluded between these two Kings, as well for the *Hans-Towns*, as for themselves, against *Christian* the deposed King; and all the *Suedish* Captives in Denmark were set at liberty, and such of the *Suedes* as formerly had any particular interest in Denmark, were restored to their right.

About this time a spiritual disease was newly breeding

Peace concluded.

Gospel light
in Germany.

Envid by the
Devil.

Anabaptists
trouble all.

Two of them
come into
Sweden, and
cause much
trouble.

ing in *Germany*, which soon grew to be almost *Epidemical* in those Eastern parts. Gospel-light was newly sprung out of *Popish* darkness, discovering the very bowels of the *Romish* Religion, to be a meer garbage of pride and covetousness: To prevent which, the Devil raiseth up another light, or a thing as like to light as himself is, when he is *transformed into an Angel of light*. He found the people as desirous to gain their Civil as their Religious Liberties. This he colourably helps on by a company of Professors, pretending to a more pure light, and perfect way of holiness by a second Baptism, suggesting that men of light must walk according to their light, and that they were bound by no other Law, and so needed, neither Magistracy, nor Ministry: Nay, those Ordinances favour of *Antichristian* Tyranny. Hereupon they rose, and ran up and down *Germany*, and like the waves of the Sea, swallow up, and bear down all before them, till dashing on a Rock, they break themselves in pieces.

But before this storm, two drops fall upon *Sweden* by the coming over of two men with the *Holland* Merchants, during the interview of these two Kings. These were *Melchior Rincus*, and *Knipper Dolling*, who arriving at *Stockholme*, instill new principles into the people, whence followed, that entering the Churches, down go Images, and Organs, and all such things as they will call monuments of Idolatry. They made also publick invectives against publick Worship, and the Clergy, as *Antichristian*, suggesting that it were better to have none at all.

Gustavus the King returning to *Stockholme* finds much

much need of his presence, and understanding of the tumultuous Reformation, and the sad principles taken up, he commits the two *Evangelists* to prison, and afterwards banished them; but their poison was not so easily cured.

Gustavus banished them.

The news of this Reformation at *Stockholme*, spreads far, and wide over the Kingdome, and liberty was so welcome to all, being newly crept from under a Tyranny, that even good Government is brought into question, and the King saw no way to pacifie the storm, but by casting overboard to the people somewhat to keep the Whale from overturning the Ship: and finding that he must adventure a breach with the Pope, who had lately sent a special Legate, the Cardinal *de Potentia*, with Authority to enquire of the bloody Massacre made by *Christian* at *Stockholme*, thereby to vindicate himself of so horrible a crime, and that the Legate upon examination had judicially pronounced sentence, that nothing was done therein by *Christian* but what was just and right; he therefore told the people that he would visite all the Churches in his own person, and make a reformation by the advice of learned men; and accordingly the King in person visited all the Churches throughout the Nation, and informed himself of the state of them; but coming to *Upsal*, he was opposed by the Archbishop, and Canons; whereupon a Disputation was appointed, wherein the King himself would be President: After which he summoned all the States of *Sweden* to meet, to whom he related what he found in his Visitation, requesting their help in directing some moderation in the work of Reformation, in Doctrine, and

Their infection spreadeth.

The Pope justifies the massacre at *Stockholme*.

The King visits the Kingdome.

A Convention of the Estates.

the worship of God, and in calming the violence of the *Catholick* Clergy, which were such desperate enemies to it; as also in regulating their abuse of the Church-maintenance, which they spent in pride and luxury, which ought to be employed for the saving of peoples souls.

Their answer was, that if the matter be made to appear upon enquiry, they were of opinion that the Temporalties belonging to the Clergy, may, and ought to be seized, and the Church-maintenance also secured, for the right ends and uses to which they were appointed.

The *Ecclesiasticks* declaim against this, affirming, that the Churches priviledges and revenues were granted and confirmed to the Church by Kings and Emperours, and therefore ought not to be invaded under pain of damnation. To this it was replied, that the true Elders were *worthy of double honour*, both of reverence and maintenance; but such as are slow bellies, neither serving God nor man, ought not to have the Churches maintenance; and that if some Kings, against allequity, permitted the same, other succeeding Kings may, and ought to reform it; that there is not one sentence in all the Scriptures that warranteth such power in Church-men, or that countenanceth such manner of living, especially in an unlawful way of opposing the Civil Magistrate, as hath been used in *Sweden* for these last two hundred years. In conclusion, the States determined, that the Churches Revenues are in the power of the King, according to the condition of times, to encrease, maintain, or to diminish, as may best conduce to the safety of true Religion.

They leave the Church-revenues to the disposal of the King.

ligion in Doctrine, and to the establishment of the pure worship of God, and holiness of life.

Hence followed a storm of Impurations, and Execrations, Foreign Nations are made to believe that the King is an *Atheist*, and that the common people in *Sweden* obey a Devil in the shape of a man; but the King sleighted these Scar-crows, as all Princes that fine their counsels upon good foundations, ought to do; yet the common people in *Sweden* were enraged hereby, and amongst these the *Dalcarles*, who were the first in vindicating the peoples liberties, are now the first that appear to keep themselves and the people in bondage; but they knew not who to pitch upon for their leader; yet at length one was discovered called *Nicholas Stur*, reputed the son of *Steno Stur* late Governour of *Sweden*, and he ascends the Stage in *West Gothland* to act for the old Church Government; the people also allured by his great name, joyned with him, and so the War is now become *Bellum Episcopale*, the Bishops War.

The King hears, and sees all, yet the hatred and practices of these men move him not: He shewed magnanimity in the Field, but never more than in this case. He is but newly a King, and contrary to all principles of policy, he is presently put upon an hard task, even to change *Ecclesiastical* Government, and their formerly received Religion, wherein he was to sail against wind and tyde, and therefore though he was very courageous; yet this daring adventure must rather be attributed to his Faith, than to his Valour; and he met with success accordingly; for the *Dalcarles* not finding that bravery of spirit in their new Captain, as

Popish lies, and
slanders.

The *Dalcarles*
rebell.

Religion re-
formed.

And are quiet-
ed.

might become a son of that famous *Steno*, began to suspect that they might be in danger of a cheat, and therefore they secretly sent to the Widow of *Steno Stur* to enquire the truth: She tells the Messengers plainly, that they were deceived, for that her son *Nicholas* was long since dead. This message caused the *Dallcarles* presently to withdraw their assistance, fearing that the cause of Religion will not bear them out, unless patronized by one of the Royal blood of *Sweden*. The *Dallcarles* now gone, the spirit presently disappears, and is no where to be found, till he makes another apparition at *Rosstock*, where at the request of the King of *Sweden*, he was put to death; as also some others of his party in *Sweden* were served in the like manner, and so the storm blew away.

Traytors executed.

A Famine causeth new fits.

Yet the common people are still like a Sea; a Famine comes upon the Land, and the Church-men tell the people, that this is the fruit of their Innovations in matters of Religion, whereupon they are again angry, and refuse to pay the Kings Tribute, the King tells them that few of them understood Gods word, and that fewer of them could make a right judgement of his Works; that their stop of his Tributes should not stop his course: He soon gathers an Army, and marches to *Westersås*, and from thence gives notice of his coming to them of the *Dales*, requiring them to meet him at *Terna*, ready either to fight for their cause, or to beg pardon for their enterprise.

which are soon quieted.

The *Dalcarles* like neither if they could help it, Feign they would hold their old way of Religion, yet choose rather to submit, and to hazard their opinions rather

rather than their lives, and the issue was, some of them were corporally punished, others reprov'd, and sent home, giving security for their good behaviour; and in the like manner, others in other places were so served; onely the Archbishop of *Upsal*, being one of the *Popes* sons, was admitted as a male-content to banish himself from his native Country.

The King being returned to *Westeras*, considered with himself the danger of the Kingdome by reason of the bad lives of the Clergy, and their neglect of the peoples souls, and their restless endeavour to bring his Government into dislike with the people, and his person into contempt by imputations of *Heresis* and *Blasphemy*, to which some stop must be put speedily, or all would come to confusion: Hereupon he called a *Convention* of all the *States* of *Sweden*, to whom he propounded to take into consideration the State of the Nation, saying, that they all knew that he neither sought, nor willingly undertook the Government of the same; that they all promised to assist him therein, without whose help it was impossible for him to Govern; that he now, contrary to his expectation, found the people much dissatisfied through the instigation of the Clergy, whose Lordship, and power amongst them; you all (said he) know to be such, as that now it is put into the ballance with the Kings; and their luxury, pride, and idleness all the world knows to be such, as is inconsistent with the duty of their places, the good of the people, and righteous Government; that their Castles and temporal Revenues are exempted from the service and safeguard of the Kingdome, to maintain Dissentions, Mutenies, and

Convention
of Estates cal-
ed.

The Kings
Speech to
them.



Rebellions, that for his part he must rather cease to be a King, than to see all things in confusion under his Government: and therefore I require (faith he) some order to be taken by the Convention of the States for regulating hereof, or else I am resolved to lay down my Government, and leave it to them that can manage it to better purpose; and hereof I desire a speedy and positive answer from you the Bishops, and other States of this Kingdom.

The Bishops
refuse to sub-
mit.

But the Bishops ears were deaf to these things: their Authority, and Revenues were dearer to them, than to part with them for words. They thought they had the King at an advantage, which they purposed to make use of: and the major part of the other States, overswayed by the Bishops, did not so readily, and resolutely appear for the King, as they ought to have done, fearing the Popes Thunderbolt more than the Kings displeasure.

He resigns his
Kingdome to
the States.

The King being offended hereat, said, He would never adventure one drop of Swedish blood more, to maintain his Government by a Civil Warre, wherein the conquered must be miserable, and the Conqueror unjust, and wherein friends must destroy one another: and forthwith coming into the Convention of States, he resigned up his Kingdom, and Government, asking nothing but a recompence for his service, and that they would take his Inheritance at a moderate valew, and so he departed into the Castle. This may seem a strange example. *Olaus* only debated with the Senate about laying down his Government, but did it not: *Gustavus* did it, and debated it not. They that make Government their work, will be glad of rest: but

Note.

they

they that make it their sport, the people will sooner be weary of them, than they of it. It seems *Gustavus* misled of those encouragements which were promised from the *Convention of States* when he undertook the Government; and for him to continue therein without them in order to maintain the peoples liberty was vain : and therefore if he hertin followed the examples of some of his Ancestors, he may the rather be excused, though hereby the Kingdome was left in a confused condition.

The next day the States met again, and in cold blood, and upon second thoughts told the Bishops, that the Kingdome must not be ruined to satisfy their lusts, and that if they would not be equal judges between themselves, and the people, others must : yet (said they) *you shall be once more heard what you can say for your selves* : And hereupon a Conference was appointed, wherein *Dr. Olav* appeared for the King, and *Dr. Gallen* for the Bishops; and the point about Ecclesiastical power was largely debated, which Conference the longer it lasted, the more it touched the quick, so that many of the hearers saw cause to alter their opinions about Prelacy, insomuch as upon the third day the Voters for the people urged the Bishops positively to submit to the King : But if they meant otherwise to expose the Nation to extremity, and mischief should come thereby, they vowed to be revenged upon the Authours thereof; and to this, the greater part of the Nobles agreed. At length the plurality of Votes prevailed, and a message was sent into the Castle to *Gustavus* by a person of quality, to beseech him to return into the *Convention of States*, but prevailed

The Nobles
oppose the
Bishops.

They request
him to res-
sume the Go-
vernment.

vailed not, and a second message prevailed as little, till a third message presented by persons of near Relation to him prevailed to bring him to the *Convention*; where he was received by all the States with the greatest observancy that could be, all making it their humble request, that he would not reject the Government in such a juncture of affairs, withall, promising their utmost, and faithful assistance. The King considering with himself, that though it was an ill condition with him to be alwayes labouring, and yet never to do the work, yet it was much worle to grow weary before he had attained to the shore, for that was the next door to drowning; whereupon he took up a resolution to neglect mens opinions and censures, and to see to what issue he could bring the Counsels of the *Conventions of Estates*.

The Temporalities of the Bishops given to the King.

At last it was concluded that the Bishops should render up their Castles and Temporalities to the Kings disposal, and submit to live upon such Pensions as should be allowed them by the States, saving evermore the titles, interests and right of the Nobility, and others, to any part of the said Temporalities, which by the distemper of the times, had been encroached upon: But the execution hereof proved more difficult; many being unwilling to disrobe themselves before they went to bed.

Such as were worst affected were soonest at the issue, as desperate persons, through conscience of their guilt, conclude that no mercy is to be had, and therefore they had as good pass the Pikes at first as at last. Only the Bishop of *Hincopen* was loth to part with his Castle of *Monkbed*, about which he held
some

some debate, but in conclusion was ordered to deliver possession at a day prefixed, and in the mean time to put in security for the performance thereof, and not to disturb the publick peace. The King would not discharge his Army till all was done, and at the time appointed he marched with it to the Castle of *Monkbed*, where he was sumptuously feasted by the Bishop, who gave so great content to the King, that he discharged the Bishops Sureties, and at his request, allowed him to visit the Churches of *Gotbland*, where, having gotten much Treasure, without taking leave of the King, he took shipping, and sailed to *Dantzick*, where, after some years, he dyed. And thus *Sweden* gave a leading example to the Eastern Nations of regulating, and restoring the Church-revenues to the right ends for which they were intended.

The Bishop of
Hincopen flies.

Gustavus having now reigned five years since his first election, and having thus far prevailed to pare the nails, and clip the wings of the Lordly Clergy, he thought that now he might hearken to the advice of his States, and give them satisfaction by being Crowned, and thereupon he appointed a day to solemnize his Coronation at *Upsal*, which accordingly was performed, after he had served at the helm of Government seven years.

The Clergies
pride abased.

Gustavus is
crowned.

Gustavus his spirit, which was alwayes daring, grew yet more brave: His aims are yet higher, *viz.* at a reformation in Doctrine, Worship, and holiness of life; for which end he first placed in all the *Cathedrals*, men eminent for learning, holiness, and eloquence, to preach the word of God, enjoyning the Bishops out of the Church-revenues, to provide them such Pen-

Reformation
carried on.

The Kings
piety.

Scarron rages.

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sions as might encourage them in the work. The King also kept set times every week to hear them in his own person before he sent them forth, & this he did, as well to satisfy his own conscience, as to encourage others to attend upon publick Ordinances. But now comes the trial, the *States* had agreed, and the Prelates had in shew submitted as to their Temporalities; but when the Reformation in Doctrine, Worship, and conversation was promoted, the Devil roars, and will not so easily be cast out of the whole Nation of *Sueden*. The Minister that was sent to preach at *Scarron*, was so entertained by the Bishop, and his party, that he was forced to flye to *Upland* to save his life, and the Rector of the College undertaking to expound St. *Matthews* Gospel, was in danger of being stoned by the Schollars, who were encouraged thereto by the Lords, and great men that joyned with the Bishop, in this undertaking. Some also both of the great men, and Commons of *West-Gothland* hearing hereof, bestirred themselves, not for the Bishops sake (say they) but because our Religion is invaded by this new *German* Doctrine of *Luther*; and upon this account they sent Letters to *Smalland* to stir them up to take Arms, who were easily perswaded thereto, and seized upon such as would not joyn with them, and amongst others, upon the Countess of *Hoy*, the Kings own sister. They wrote also to those in the *Dales*, and other neighbouring Provinces to send their Deputies to a meeting appointed by them at *Larua*, so uncertain is the love of the people. Thus the Scene of War is changed, and though *Tyranny* was in the Van, and *Prelacy* in the main Battel, yet *Popery* brought up the

the Rear, and all tended to bring the Nation into its old condition, rather than to suffer such a change. So unsensible are men of their present happiness.

This storm the King might rationally foresee, by what he found in the case of *Prelacy*; yet his courage leads him on even to astonishment, having nothing to back him but a good cause and a good conscience; and truly, though Politicians might condemn him, yet the issue justified him. For the Inhabitants of *West-Gothland* considering that the generality of the people, had sworn Allegiance to the King, thereupon demurred upon the business, as also the Kings merits, their enjoyment of their Laws and Liberties, and that, as to the point of *Heresi*: objected against the King, they were no competent Judges; and that, considering the Kings piety, they had no cause to believe it, but rather to judge it a scandal raised by his enemies. Hereupon the confederate Lords grew into differences amongst themselves, and the Bishop, and one other of them fled into *Denmark*, whither the Kings Letter pursued them, alleging that it was contrary to their agreement, that either King should harbour the others enemies, so that they were feign to flye from thence into *Mecklemburg*; and the other Lords (forgetting what they had done) stood upon their justification, alledging that they were forced to it by the heads that were absent in Forrein parts; and that they never promoted, or encouraged the Rebellion either by advice, letters, or instructions, and therefore would stand to their trial at Law.

The Kings
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The Multi-
tudes disagree.

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Others put
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The King and his Council wondered at their con-

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The King taking into his consideration that the King of *Denmarks* carriage in this matter, suited not with the former agreement made betwixt them, and being unwilling that the same should be invalidated in the least point (*wise men who will preserve friendship, must stop the breach whilst it is small*) he prevailed for an other interview, that they might understand each others minde more fully, and hereby the former agreement was explained, enlarged, and confirmed, and so parting in love, they returned with joy.

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His Piety.

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with twenty five Ships sailed from *Enchusen* to the Coast of *Norway*; but by the way having lost ten of them, they arrived only with the rest, and before they were aware they were imprisoned by the Ice, all that Winter. Yet was *Christian* at liberty all that while to work his designs upon that Country of *Norway*, the *Danes* being at that season wholly disinabled to oppose him. As many therefore of the great men of *Norway* as pleased, had free correspondence with *Christian*: Only the Governour of *Agger-house* Castle dealt subtilly with him, refusing to surrender it to *Christian*, but upon such terms as might stand with his honour. For (said he) though I acknowledge *Christian* to be King of these three Northern Kingdomes; yet for the honour of my Family, I desire leave to write to *Frederick* the now King of *Denmark*, for present relief (which in common reason he cannot send during Winter) otherwise I will tell him that I must surrender the Castle to King *Christian*; and by this means your Majesty will be no loser, and my honour shall be saved. *Christian* was contented herewith, and the Governour dispatched his messenger into *Denmark*, and notwithstanding the Frost, he had such supply sent him as enabled him to stand upon his own defence. Upon this *Christian* prepared for a siege, during the continuance whereof, as the besieged were relieved by the *Danes*, so were the besiegers not onely by the *Nor-mans*, but by many *Runegadoes* out of *Sweden*: such was their old love to *Christian*, and their hatred to *Gustavus*; and these flocking to *Christian* from all parts, soliciting the *Dalcarles* (who were now dis-obliged from their King) to revolt with them to their former

Some *Suedes* revolt to him.

former King, who (as they said) was through afflictions become quite another man, changed into a meek and compassionate nature, and a gracious deportment, and would doubtless imbrace them readily, and give them all the assurance they could desire; they told them also that Forreign Princes would assist him, for that they liked not such presidents of Subjects deposing their King. And above all, they might hereby assure themselves that they should be received into the bosome of the Church, and into the favour of the Pope. These, and such like motives were suggested to the *Dallcarles*: But old Birds would not be caught with chaffe; few of them gave any credit to these things, and many derided them, knowing that nature is no changeling, except it be overpowred by supernatural principles: that the manner of *Christians* coming, shewed little signs of repentance for any other thing, than for that he had parted with the Crown upon such easie terms: that the differences between *Gustavus* their King, and them, were but lately begun, and might easily be composed; but those between *Christian* and them, were beyond a cure. The revolted *Suedes* seeing this, soon disappear, and the Winter being now almost ended, and *Christian* finding his party discouraged, and the stream still after six years so strong against him, and being grown weary of living upon the *German* courtesie, he chose rather to cast himself upon a Treaty with his Uncle the King of *Denmark*, than to return into *Brabant*, and having conditions proffered him by the *Danish* Admiral of safe conduct whilst he treated with his Uncle, and in case of non-agreement, that he should have liberty

Others were
more wise.

King *Christian*
and foolish
credulity.

to

to go whither he would, he sails with the Admiral into *Denmark*, never so much as enquiring whether the Admiral had power to grant such conditions or not.

He is made a prisoner.

Coming into *Denmark*, before he was aware, he was made a Prisoner, gaining onely this advantage, that now he was maintained honourably upon the publick charge of the Kingdome, as one that formerly had been their King, whereas if he had been elsewhere, he must have lived upon the curtesie of such as would have pitied him; and yet this is observable, that the *Danish* Admiral had no thanks for this service, and many thought that it would have been better for *Denmark*, if the Prisoner had been in a Foreign Country: For though it be true, that deposing of Kings by their subjects is sadly resented by other Princes; yet it is only whilst the sore is green, and the flesh tender, which may occasion some anger from abroad for the present; but if upon some trial, they get nothing, Foreign Princes so love their own interest, and peaceable Government, that by continuance, the wound breeds stupefaction, and they will engage no more.

Note.

Now as touching *Sueden*, who was not a little concerned in this business of *Norway*, its worthy our observation, how the breach between the King and the *Dalcarles* was first made; for though the occasion was small, yet the mischief might have been exceeding great. The matter was briefly thus:

The King of *Sueden* meets with new troubles.

The Kings debts to the *Lubeckers* for their service in the time of his Was, were not yet fully satisfied, and now payment was required with some eagerness, but

but how they should be paid, and how the money levied, admitted great matter of debate; some were for a Tax, but that was thought would go hardly down with the people, who were so exhausted by ten years Wars. Others were of opinion that the profit of the Mines might be assigned to the *Lubeckers* for certain years, but then they knew not how the Government should be maintained without them. At last a project was propounded to give the King the biggest Bell save one out of every steeple within his Dominions, which (as was alledged) would do the work, and no particular man should have any loss, nor the publick be prejudiced. But this was a great mistake as things then stood: for the Merchants had engrossed much Copper, and if this proceeded, they were undone, they could get no Market. It was said, this was no good reason, being of too private a nature, to be ballanced with the publick good. Then the quarrel was about the Condition of these Bells: It was said, they were anointed, and consecrated to an holy use, and ought not to be employed for prophane uses; but this also was judged invalid, the opinion being grounded upon superstitious principles: But he is granted that the anointing, and consecrating them was superstitious, yet if any property be at all in such devoted things, that property remaineth till it be legally destroyed, and until then, the seizing of such things, and converting them to other uses, will in the vulgar opinion fall under the notion of *Sacrilege*, which hath been alwayes abominable even amongst the *Heathen*, though it were done in the wilde Wars: Or if it comes not under that notion, then it must be in the nature of a

Tumults a-
bout Bells.

gift to the people of the Parish, either for their pleasure, or for the more convenient assembling them to publick duties; in both which cases the unlawful seizing upon them is looked upon as a common plunder, and invasion of the goods of the whole body of the people at once, which is a sad pre-
 sage that no mans particular estate is his own any longer under such a Government. And it seems the people of *Sueden* had such an apprehension of this president; for after it was resolved upon, and began to be put in execution, an insurrection was made, and the people stood up in defence of their Bells, so that some could not be removed, others that were taken down, and carrying away, were pursued and rescued, and the officers that were employed, were well beaten for their pains.

ed This being reported to the King, he called a *Convention* of the *States*, which would have been more seasonable before the business of the Bells had made such a jangling. This *Convention* of *States* met at *Upsall*. But the *Dallcarles*, who were most eager for their Bells, summoned another *Convention* of the people at *Arbogg*, so that here was one Parliament against another. The people (saith the Historian) are commonly of that temper, that they will either serve humbly, or govern proudly. True liberty (which is the golden mean) they neither knew how to want, nor how to use, especially such as the *Suedes* now were, trained up in *Warre*, who therefore chase rather to lose their peace than their Bells.

But the Parliament at *Arbogg* thrives not: few hearkened to their summons: yet did they set a good face.

face upon the matter, and sending Messengers to the King, they protest their fidelity, yet desired his answer to two requests: One, that the King would not send more forces into the Country of the *Dalcarles* than they should deem convenient for them to quarrel: The other, not to let any Governour over them, but such an one as was of their own Country and neighbourhood. The Kings spirit was too great to like of conditions from his Subjects, yet his wisdom prevailed to take into consideration the condition of his affairs. He considered that *Christian* was now in *Norwey*: That Winter was newly begun: That the *Norwegians* were inclined to assist *Christian*: And that if the *Dalcarles* should be further provoked, the issue might be doubtfull. He therefore dissembled his displeasure, and sent them a Governour according to their desire: But at the end of three years, he raised an Army, and seized upon the chief Authors of this rebellion, and put them to death: and further, to bring down the pride of the *Dalcarles*, he seized upon their liberties, and so levelled them with the rest of the people.

This was the first malignant design against the Government of *Gustavus*, in favour of the cause of the deposed King, which, like a *Granado* firing in the air, spent it self before it fell: but it proved not the last. For soon after the King of *Denmark* died, leaving *Christian* a prisoner to the Lords of *Denmark*, who differing in their opinions as to the election of a King, spent two years in an *Interregnum*: during which time, some sought to promote the Son of the deceased King, which was but a child, and therefore more ca-

Subjects treat
with their
King.

The Kings
policy.

He punishes
the Rebels.

The King of
Denmark dies.

An Interrog-
num there.

Reformation
of Religion in
Lubeck.

Woolweaver, a
turbulent per-
son.

pable of counsell, and herein the Bishops joyned. Others acted for the Duke of *Holst* : and some were for restoring *Christian*, then a prisoner, to the Crown again. This was one summons to the King of *Sueden* to look about him, and kept him off from punishing the *Dalkarles* for the matter about the Bells. But there was another thing that was no less dangerous, though the effect was not like to be so sudden, and that was this

About this time there was a change of Government in *Lubeck* from the *Papish* to the *Lutheran* way, which although in it self it suited well enough with the King of *Suedens* mind, yet in such alterations there is commonly one man more active than the rest, who in such alterations of Religion becomes an instrument of altering the Government. And such an one the *Lubeckers* had fitted for the purpose: His name was *Woolweaver*, a man whose education was answerable to his name: Him they made Consul of the City, and he being gotten up, was blown higher by affecting popularity, and undertaking to be a Protector to the poor, who were now much encreased in the City, the principal cause whereof, he alledged to be the King of *Suedens* abridging them in their priviledges, contrary to his agreement made with them, when they assisted him in his Wars, as also that he had countenanced trade from, and with the *Hollanders*, and other Nations, for a remedy, whereof *Woolweaver* counselled them to endeavour to draw the *Danes* to joyn with the *Lubeckers* against all trading with *Sueden* from without the *Baltick Sea*.

But the *Danes* told them that they thought it not meet to conclude in things of that nature till they were

were better settled in their Government, and were agreed about the party that should be their King: And finding it more necessary to keep good correspondence with *Sueden* (because of the endeavours of a party amongst themselves to advance *Christian* to the Throne again) they acquainted the King of *Sueden* with the designs of the *Lubeckers*. *Woolweaver* stormed at this, and without blushing, faces about, and propounds to the King of *Sueden* to joyn with him against the *Hollanders*: But *Gustavus* his counsel was rather to manage well the matter concerning *Denmark*, than to enter into new engagements.

The *Danes* refuse to joyn with *Woolweaver*.

So doth *Gustavus*.

For (saith he) *the Danish affairs are as a Sea of many currents, wherein if you steer not an even course, and keep not constant watch, you may be in danger of Shipwrack; and therefore as embarked in one, and the same Ship with Denmark, let us bend our whole counsel in the speedy settlement of the Government thereof, so as may best conduce to the concurrent interest of both Nations.*

Woolweaver finding himself thus disappointed in both these places, grew angry, and like one lifted up from below, lifted up his thoughts higher than his wits served him, and in his carere vaunteth, that as he had advanced *Gustavus* to the Throne, so he would pull him down again, and thereupon entertained correspondence with the *Runnegadoes* of *Sueden*: which *Gustavus* being quickly sensible of, he seized upon the persons, goods, and priviledges of the *Lubeckers* in *Sueden*. The *Lubeckers* also dealt in the like manner with the *Suedes* in *Lubeck*.

Woolweaver's pride.

The King and *Woolweaver* fall out.

Woolweaver in the mean time aiming at no less than the Crown of *Sueden*, held private intelligence

The Earle of
Hoyes treache-
ry.

Pride goes be-
fore a fall.

in *Sueden*, and stirred them up to civil broils that might busie the King at home, and first he prevailed with the Earle of *Hoy*, who had married the Kings sister, and being a person of great interest, he prevailed with the people, especially with those of *Smal-land*, to disaffect them towards the King; which done, the Earl withdraws himself, his wife, and children to *Lubeck*, under pretence for his health sake; but being there arrived he was made Commander in chief of all the disaffected *Suedes* who repaired unto him. *Its the usual fate of great men, seldom to be contented with their present state; they think that either their own merits are not rewarded enough, or their inferiours too much, and so through discontent, striving to be higher, they fall lower.*

The Earle of *Hoy* thought it not enough to be the Kings brother by marriage, and Lord Lieutenant under *Gustavus* in *Sueden*, but he must become General of a party of discontents under *Woolwenver* against his King, his brother, his kindred, and Country; and what he gained thereby, will afterwards appear.

In the mean time many retire to him out of *Sueden*, principally by reason of the disturbances in *Smal-land*, which himself had kindled before his departure thence, and which afterwards were fomented by a company of lawless persons who had combined themselves against the Kings Justices there, and carried themselves with so high an hand, that it came to blood, even to the slaughter of the Kings Lieutenant in that Country; and when the King had suppressed them by force of Arms, yet they maintained a kinde of theevish War till they could retire themselves to the Earle of *Hoy*, whole

whose party being thus increased, waited all advantages, which occasioned the King of *Sweden* to stand rather upon his watch, than upon his defence; for they did him no harm, God having provided other means to clip their wings without the labour of the King of *Sweden*.

Divisions in
Denmark.

For *Woolweaver* according to his design, being strengthened by these aides, soon employed it about his principal work, which was to settle his Neighbours, the *Danes*, in a sitting posture for his purpose. For the present condition of *Denmark* was this: The Nobles were divided (as was said before) about the election of a King, divers were for *Fohn*, the son of the former King, though a childe, and that principally upon the account of Religion, which his Father had changed into the *Lutheran* way, and they hoped the sonne would the rather uphold it. This the Bishops smelt out, and sought the advancement of the *Papish* Religion, and therefore would have the Government managed by Administratorship; and in their own names they published *Injunctions*, wherein they required all the *Lutheran* Preachers to depart out of the Country by a day prefixed. This being like to fall heavy upon the Cities of *Hafnia*, and *Malmogia*, who yet were loath to make a breach, they prevailed to have the Government by Administratorship advanced, and withall invited *Christian* Duke of *Holst* to be Administrator for *Fohn*, the former Kings son, but he disclaimed it. Then they had recourse to, and prevailed with the Duke of *Aldenburgh* (who professed the Doctrine of *Luther*) to accept thereof, who thereupon came to *Hafnia* with a party, and when he was there,

there, perceiving many whisperings about the restoring of their deposed King, the Duke to gain the greater party, declared his willingness for the resettlement of him, whereby he won much upon the common people. For *Christian* drove on the same trade in *Denmark* as he had formerly done in *Sueden*, flattering the people into a party against the Lords, which (as an Historian saith) is the ready way to Tyranny. *Woolweaver*, though he was more passionate, than wise, takes this opportunity, and sides with the Duke of *Aldenburgh*, and prevails with him to engage against the Duke of *Holst*, who had divers of the Lords of *Denmark* that joyned with him to make him King; but in this the Duke of *Aldenburghs* expectation was frustrated; for he lost the day, and was beaten out of the Field by the Duke of *Holst*.

And now was the Duke of *Holst* brought upon the stage to act his part for the Crown of *Denmark*, thereby to procure his own rest and safety; and observing that the King of *Sueden* was left out of the play, he invites him to bear a part in the Game for *Woolweavers* sake. The King of *Sueden* well knowing his own interest, made little difficulty of the matter; and though *Woolweaver* endeavoured to stop that muse by a fair message, yet the King would not so be perswaded, but told the messengers of their Masters entertainment of the *Suedish Runnegadoes*, and so dismissed them; and being informed that the people in *Demark* sided with the Duke of *Aldenburgh*, for their deposed King, he thought it not fit to dally any longer, but forthwith falls with an Army into the *Danish* Territories, and possessed himself

Gustavus
joyns with the
Lords of *Den-*
mark.

selves of divers places for the use of the Duke of *Holst*. The *Danish* Lords also seeing which way the current ran, and themselves deserted by the people, joyned with the Duke of *Holst*, and engaged him for the Crown in good earnest.

In the mean time the Duke of *Aldenburg*, seeing what interest he had with the common people, thought all safe, and therefore took his ease, and enjoyed his pleasure. But the Duke of *Holst* did not so; he sent the *Danish* Lords into *Fusland* with an Army, who soon settled that Country, and from thence marched into *Fionia*, wherein one Battel all the Duke of *Aldenburgs* hopes were dashed, and the Earle of *Hoy* was sacrificed to the King of *Suedens* pleasure; the Archbishop of *Upsal* also, and divers other disaffected *Suedes* were slain in the Battel.

The Duke of
Aldenburg
beaten.

The news hereof coming to *Lubeck*, made *Woolweaver* once more tack about, and hearing that *Suanto*, the son of *Steno Star*, sometimes Governour of *Sueden*, was in the Duke of *Saxonies* Court, he suborned a messenger to him as from his Mother, to meet her at *Malla*, where (it was said) she waited with convenience for him: Hereupon he repaired to *Malla*, where instead of meeting with his Mother, he was met with by a Troop of Horse from *Lubeck*, who offered him in the name of the City, great honours if he will be advised by them, and so by surprisal, they conveyed him to *Lubeck*, where he was saluted by *Woolweaver* the Consul, with great expressions of joy, who minded him of the unsettled state of the Northern Kingdomes, and of the private disaffection of the *Suedes* to their King. Adding that

Woolweavers
treachery a-
gainst *Gustavus*.

Suanto's fidelity.

now there was a fair opportunity offered to him to recover the Government of *Sueden*, which place was so famously managed by his Ancestors. That *Lubeck* had an Army in readiness, wanting onely his consent to be their Leader. That it was expected that he should now shew himself worthy of such Progenitors : But *Suanto* had sworn Allegiance to *Gustavus*, and meant to observe it, and therefore refused the proffers, and demanded liberty to depart, or else that *Woolweaver* would shew cause why he was detained Prisoner. *Woolweaver* seeing no good was to be done, told him that he was no prisoner, and that it was free for him to go when, and whither he pleased, only earnestly desiring that where ever he went, he would retain a favourable opinion of the City.

Aldenburg beaten.

The King of *Sueden* being informed of these passages, was thereby sharpened in the pursuit of the Duke of *Holsts* interest upon the main land of *Schonen*, and in a short time brought all the Country to submit to him, onely the City of *Malmogia*, and some other neighbouring Castles held out for the Duke of *Aldenburg*, from whom they expected relief; and accordingly the Duke, with the Duke of *Oldenburg*, and the Duke of *Mecklenburgh*, joyning all their strength together, resolve to adventure all upon the issue of one Battel with the King of *Sueden*, wherein their Army was utterly and irrecoverably overthrown; so that within a few dayes all the Country was wholly for the Duke of *Holst*, which but a week before was quite of another temper.

Haffnia had now been besieged above half a year by the Duke of *Holst*, which City was only left as the glean-
ing

ing of the War, and wherein the last strength of the Dukes of *Aldenburg*, *Oldenburg*, *Mecklenburgh*, and of the City of *Lubeck* was now contracted. All this while *Christian* the deposed King had time enough to try the curtelie of the house of *Burgundy*; but none of that house would stir in his behalf, and which was more unhappy for the besieged, the affairs of *Lubeck* were faced about to the Reer. For the *Hans-Towns* in their general meeting, perceiving that the affairs of *Lubeck* had for these five years last past been wholly swayed by *Woolweaver*, under a pretence of Religion, and that the City by that means was brought into such difficulties that they knew not how to come off, either with credit or safety; they therupon concluded (according to the counsel sent by the Emperor to the City) that the former Government should be restored at *Lubeck*, not at all meddling with the matter of Religion; and because they would salve the credit of *Woolweaver*, they commended him to the Government of *Bergeridoffe*. *Woolweaver* was not therewith contented, and therefore at his departure out of the City, vowed revenge; and the Senate at *Lubeck*, being now changed, considering the restless spirit of *Woolweaver*; were as little satisfied as he, and therefore sent messengers after him, who finding him upon his journey, in the Territories of a Prince, who owed him no good will, they procured him to be imprisoned, and afterwards charging him with Treason against the State of *Lubeck*, he was put to death, and quartered. And now *Lubeck* was settled upon its old basis, and flourished again, leaving this lesson to such as would be Statesmen, *That miscarriages in Government, are not reformed by*

Woolweaver is
hanged and
quartered.

altering, but by establishing the Government.

Haffnia surrendered.

Haffnia now after a years siege, being tired out with the miseries of War, was surrendered upon terms, not altogether so honourable for the Duke of *Holst*, as might have been expected: whereupon the King of *Sueden* told the Duke, that being privy to his own engagements in the Dukes behalf, he little expected that such an agreement should ever have been made by the Duke without his knowledge, and in one thing, not without his consent. *Fox* (said he) *why should I be excluded out of this agreement, and you thereby to engage your self not to aid me in case I should not agree with the Lubeckers upon just terms.* The Duke pleaded that he was necessitated to it to gain the present surrender of the City, as also that the importunity of the Lords, and his neighbour Princes drew him thereto: nevetheless he assured the King, that if he would send Ambassadors, he should finde that he should not receive any damage thereby. And accordingly the King did send Ambassadors; but the *Lubeckers* could never prevail to have a resettlement of their priviledges in *Sueden* as they desired: so that in conclusion, there was onely a bare truce concluded betwixt them, and the King of *Sueden* for five years.

The King makes a truce with *Lubeck*.

Thus are the three Northern Kingdoms brought once more into a settlement, and turbulent *Lubeck* was calmed, and the Captive King in a manner twice captivated, and now if not quite hopeles, yet less hopeful than ever formerly. *England* indeed was allied, and had done what it thought meet, and possibly more than was meet. For Ambassadors were sent from

from hence to draw the Lords to a Treaty; but they liked not to adventure their necks upon purposes and promises. The Emperour did less, either judging *Christians* person despicable by reason of his unworthy carriage to his Queen, and Lords; or the Lords were more wise and wary than to adventure upon a second trial of their late Kings curtesie, unless they were compelled thereto by force: To do which, the Emperour had neither time, nor money to spare, though the opportunity lay as fair to do his brother a good turn as he could desire, if he had intended it. And lastly, though the common people did what they could, yet they effected nothing. *Its many times seen, that Providence doth advance some particular persons of the meanest rank to be instrumental in the publick Government, but never puts the Government into the power of such, which would be the speedy way to confusion, as appeared in those very times by the Earthquakes in Government, raised by the Anabaptists in Germany, wherein though the issue was abortive, yet it came to that growth as made the greater Powers to tremble.*

Note.

And now the time of *Suedens* rest was come, where both King and people might have leisure to enjoy their several lots. The King had hitherto acted the Souldiers part very well, and now he must try his skill in a peaceable Government, wherein I shall onely set down the brief Contents of many Laws, and Acts of State, which shew rather the disposition of the Government, than the several actions thereof. The King now at leisure, taking into consideration that the fewel which maintained the Civil War was now spent, and that the people who had been trained up to the

The King of
Suedens Ir-
udence.

toyl of War, were fitter for labour than leifure; and considering alfo that a time muft come when a Commonwealth, reduced by War, muft be governed and maintained by peace; he now applied himfelf to acquaint his people with matters of profit, drawing them to Mining, Husbandry, Fifhing, and Merchandize, all which were much advanced by the Kings own ingenuous contrivances; and by encouraging the laborious, banifhing idlenefs, punifhing vagabonds, and wanderers, he found a way to make the Sea to ferve the Land, the Land to ferve Men, Men to ferve their Nation, the Nation to obferve their King, and both Nation and King to ferve God; and thereby he laid a far better building of *Sueden* than *Augustus* did of *Rome*, of whom it was faid, *That he found it of earth, and left it of Stone.*

The Crown
of *Sueden* is
made fuccefs-
five, and why.

The people likewise foon found the fweetnefs of this Government, and were not far behinde in requital of the Kings favour to them. They had now lived twenty years under his Government, and in a good meafure found the benefit of peace, though bought with their fweat and blood in a long War; but how fad would it be, if the laft breath of the King fhould put an end to their happinefs? The Council therefore at their meeting, taking this into confideration that the Government of *Sueden* by Election was alwayes uncertain, and feldome effected without deceit, and difcord, and oft-times at the price of the peoples blood; that it is of fhort continuance, depending upon the life of one man, and prejudicial to the publick good. For that in fuch cafes, Kings will deplume their fubjects to feather their own nefts, to keep their young ones

ones warm, when themselves are gone; and that it were far better for the people to be sucked by one Leech, which in time might be satisfied, than by the change of many, who will but increase the pain, and suck without satiety. That the advancement of one Family to the Throne would be a cure to all this, and a preparative to a wining aspect from it upon the people, and of a due respect from them to it, and so of a kind of conjugal affection between both against the Marriage day. That it is a means to suppress the turbulent aims of ambitious men, who crowd into the Throne, though of all others they be most unworthy. Besides, that it secureth the present Government in the peaceable possession of him that enjoys it. And that upon these, and such like grounds, *Augustus*, and other *Roman* Emperours, who wanting issue, used in their life times to adopt, and declare their successours in the Government, and trained them up for that service; nor did they finde it dangerous either for themselves, or their successours so to do. That the people at the siege of *Stockholme* offered to settle the Government upon the King, and his children, when at that time he neither had any, nor was married: But now that he is married, and hath children, and hath given such large experience of his love, industry, and faithfulness in adventuring all that he had, even to his own life to vindicate the honour of his Country: What acknowledgement can be sufficient for so great a merit; less than the settlement of the Crown of *Sueden* upon him, and his posterity for ever?

This was the result of their debates, and thus it was resolved unanimously at the Council held at

Orchrogia, that it should be propounded by them to the *Convention of States* that it might be confirmed for future ages. All which by an Instrument under their hands they professed to be done by them freely, and of their own accord without any constraint. Indeed the Kings Enemies scoffed hereat, as if he had suffered a Crown to be forced upon his Family against his will. Others pretended Religion against it, as if God liked not that men should contrive perpetuities; which is true, yet doth he like that men should be provident in establishing Justice, Truth, and Peace in a Nation; for which end himself did settle the Crown upon the Family of *David*, and hath blessed the same Rule in the Government of most Kingdomes with prosperous success, though not alwayes precisely fixing upon the same person that men design thereto. But whatsoever was said, its clear that the Kings desire was not very eager upon it, for that he summoned not a *Convention of States* of four years after; and then at *Westersås* the point was debated anew, the result whereof was this Act; That after the death of *Gustavus Ericson*, his Son shall succeed in the Government, and his eldest Son, and the Heirs male of his body; and for want of such, his second Brother, and his Heirs male of his body; and for want of such, *John*, the second Son of *Gustavus*, and his Heirs male of his body shall succeed, and so the rest of the Sons of *Gustavus*, and their Heirs male of their bodies: and in case of want of Heirs males of the Sons of *Gustavus*, the eldest of the blood, and Family of *Gustavus* shall succeed, and his issue male; and for want of such, then shall such person succeed as the Council of the Kingdom

The Crown is
entraild upon
Gustavus his
Family.

dome of *Sueden* shall elect, provided he be no For-
 reigner, and that he shall provide Portions for the
 issue female of *Gustavus*. The Council of *States* did
 herein as wise men, that steer their course by Rule, and
 yet still leave to God his supream controule, who also
 in this case overruled their rule as to the succession of
 the posterity in *Ericus* his line, which was afterwards
 laid aside by the peop'e (*Ericus* being found false to
 the Principles of Government established by his Fa-
 ther, and the *Convention* of *States*) and yet God own-
 ed *Gustavus* his Family so far as to *build him a sure*
house (who had built Gods house) by raising from
 thence many brave men both for War and Peace, and
 made it the brightest Constellation of all the Northern
Hemisphere, to have an influence, not onely within
 the Kingdome of *Sueden*, but into the general affairs
 of *Europe*.

Gods blessing
 upbn his Fa-
 mily.

But as *Gustavus* his House grows in their hopes, so
Christian, the deposed King loseth in his. The Em-
 perour being intent upon his Wars with *France*, found
 it necessary to quiet his affairs in *Germany*, and there-
 fore amongst other things at the *Convention* at *Spires*,
 the difference between him, and *Christian* the third,
 King of *Denmark* came under debate, and was settled;
 and *Christian* the second, the Emperours brother in
 law, was after fourteen years of imprisonment, left
 still to be a Prisoner, who seeing himself now quite
 neglected by his chief friends, bethought himself how
 he might make his Captivity (seeing it must be his
 condition) as easie as he could; and for that end he
 actually surrendred all his right, and the right of all
 his posterity in the Crown of *Denmark*, and the

Christian re-
 signs his
 Crown.

Ggg

Duke-

Dukedomes of *Holst*, and *Steswick*, in as ample manner as could be devised, and thereby indeed he obtained, though not a release from, yet more liberty in his prison.

The Title of *Sueden* was not at all mentioned, neither did the *Suedes* require any resignation, nor would acknowledge any Title. Yet the Emperour was willing enough to countenance any quarrel that was picked against the King of *Sueden*, as appeared in the business of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Duke of *Lorain* touching their Nieces Dowry (which, as they pretended, the Kingdome of *Sueden* ought to take care of) but the matter went no further than words. The claim was published in Print, and so was the King of *Suedens* answer also, who denied the matter of fact, and alledged that if any thing had been formerly due, it was made null by that inhumane Tyranny, whereby *Christian* forfeited all his rights in *Sueden*, for himself and posterity: declaring also that now the publick Revenues of the Crown of *Sueden*, were otherwise settled, and could not be altered.

*Gustavus his
Posterity.*

A while after, the King of *Suedens* second wife dyed, leaving three sons, and four daughters. Her eldest son [*Fohn*] was afterwards King of *Sueden*, when his eldest brother *Ericus* was deposed by the people for his misgovernment. Her second son [*Magnus*] was Duke of *East-Gothland*. Her third son [*Charles*] was Duke of *Sudermania*, who afterwards was King upon the deposing of his Nephew *Sigismund*, first King of *Poland*, and after Crowned also King of *Sueden*, but after a while was ejected by the people, because he would not maintain the Liberties

berties of *Sueden*, but sought to advance the *Polish* interest. After the death of this *Charles*, his son *Gustavus Adolphus* succeeded in the Kingdome (whose Life I have also written) and after him, his Daughter *Christina*, who resigning the Government, *Charles Gustavus*, son of *Katherine*, daughter to *Charles*, and half sister to *Gustavus Adolphus*, married to one of the house of *Casimire*, succeeded, who lately dying, left an Infant in the Throne, since when, *Christina* would willingly have reassumed the Government, but was rejected by the States, the rather because she was turned *Papist*, who reserve the Kingdome for the son of *Charles*. A brave posterity doubtless; yet the King, though now stricken in years, could not live unmarried, but took a third wife, *Katherine*, daughter to *Gustavus*, Governour of *West-Gothland*.

The Wisdome, Courage, and prosperous success of *Gustavus*, being now famous amongst other Nations, occasioned sundry applications to be made to him for assistance; but he was ever wary of moving out of his own sphere.

Gustavus grows famous.

It is an excellent point of skill in a Commander to know when his strength hath attained its just bounds of Conquest, and there, stopping his desires of gaining more, to fix upon the good Government of what he hath already gotten. It was one of the last counsels given by *Augustus* to *Tyberius*, that he should not endeavour to enlarge the bounds of the Empire, lest he should meet with more difficulty in keeping, and less in losing what was gained. For the larger the borders are, the more opportunity is given for invasion from abroad, and for rebellion at home. The wisdome, and moderation

— Note.

ration therefore of *Gustavus* is to be commended; for though he wanted not men of War, nor hope of success in further undertakings, yet having adventured for the delivery of his Country from Tyranny, and accomplished it, he desired no further happiness upon earth, than to maintain what he had gotten, yet was he once over-reached by the *Livonians*, who professed to commit themselves to his protection, which he refused; yet when they were much endangered by the *Muscovites*, he sent aid unto them, who engaging too far, and the *Livonians* hanging behinde, the whole burden was left upon the *Suedes*, who finding the *Muscovite* too heavy for them, and the *Livonians* heartless, or faithless, withdrew their assistance betimes, and made their own peace.

Policy of
Princes.

Its a usual policy amongst Princes to be slow in advancing their eldest Sons (who are to succeed them) into places of Government, and not without cause; for in such cases, especially in times, and places of darkness, their designed successours, if well gifted by nature, or education, may prove heads of parties, and factions, and thereby put the present Governours to much trouble; the one being looked upon as the rising, the other but as the setting Sun. Yet it seems more prejudicial to the people to have a raw, and unexperienced Governour set over them, who knows not how to govern himself. And therefore if *Ericus* had been more experienced in Government, he might have proved, either more advised by the overruling direction of his Father, or else he would have discovered himself so far, as that he would never have been trusted, and so many troubles might have been prevented, which ensued afterwards.

But

But it is vain to call back things which are already past, the time draws on a pace which must determine the work of this great King: He had now governed the Kingdome of *Sweden* long, and had seen many changes in other Nations as well as his own, and yet must outlive one more in *Denmark* before he leaves the world. For about this time died *Christian* the third, King of *Denmark*, by whose decease the Kingdome was put to the hazard of an other Election, which concerned *Sweden* not a little; for *Christian*, the captive King was yet alive, and had another fair opportunity to try the curtesie of the Lords of *Denmark*: But they being unanimous for the choice of *Frederick*, the Son of the Duke of *Hölst*, him they Crowned, and *Christian* was still set aside. Unhappy man, that having lived a prisoner seven and twenty years in his own Nation, could not in all that time, by his carriage gain a better opinion amongst the Nobility of *Denmark*, but that still he remained under the note of an impenitent, and obstinate Tyrant.

The King of
Denmark dies.

Another chosen.

It is the opinion of wise men that the breach between a King, and his people, is like the Divorce between a man, and his wife, never to be made up again; and yet the difficulty lyes not in any determinate judgement, or rule upon the Case, as that of Divorce doth (and therefore comes not within the compass of impossibility) but in the distemper of the parties, by ambition on the one side, and jealousy on the other, both hard to be cured: yet the first leading the way to the second, if that be first allayed, the second may be cured. And this *Christian* might have observed in the example of *Carolus Canutus*, his corival in the

Suedish Throne, who having been Crowned King, and fought successfully against the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, ruled somewhat too imperiously, for which he was ejected out of his Throne; and yet afterwards, being re-admitted, he ruled in that manner, that he dyed satisfied with honour, and the love of his people. But *Christian* was of another temper, he would fain come again into the Government, but not under restraint, nor with submission, nor by leave, nor with the love of his Nation; but still depending upon a forreign interest, and the power of the Emperour, he was looked upon as an enemy, and his return, as that of the unclean spirit, that would render the latter condition of the Nation sevenfold worse than the former. For he that is a King indeed, though wrongfully rejected, will still bear the minde of a King to desire the peoples good, and will endeavour to deserve their love: But he that depends upon the forreign interest of such as are professed enemies to a peoples Religion and Liberties, disowneth interest in his people, and therefore cannot rationally expect any re-acceptance (if that Nations Religion be right) either by the leave of God, or liking of the people.

*Christian the
Tyrant dies.*

Now whether *Christian* took conceit at this Election, seeing no hope of ever gaining a better condition than for the present he was in, Writers mention not, but he dyed presently after, even within one moneth of the death of *Christian* the third, and in the Seventy eight year of his age. And *Gustavus* outlived him, and all these changes well-nigh two years, seeing his people in a settled condition for Justice, Religion and Peace amongst themselves, and with all their

their Neighbours, thriving in Trade, industrious in Husbandry: Skilfull in improving the benefit of their Mines: Potent both at Sea, and Land: and himself blessed with repute, and honour, both from his own people, and strangers: Successfull in all his affairs, and leaving a numerous posterity behind him. And having lived seventy years, and thereof reigned thirty eight years, he gave in charge to his children to endeavour the peace, and to maintain the liberties of their Country: but especially to preserve the purity of Religion without the mixture of humane inventions, and to live as brethren in unity among themselves. All which also he left as a memorial, sealed up in his last Will, and so he resigned up his spirit to God, *Anno Christi 1562.*

Gustavus dietrich

So lived *Gustavus*, or *Augustus*, for the name is the same, which perhaps, minding him of imitation, made him exceed his patern. His aims outreached the *Roman Empire*, and were higher than the world: His difficulties, and dangers greater: His enemies more desperate by conjuncture of the Devils: His labour and industry not unlike: His success beyond all, even to wonderment. If he came short of *Augustus* in his time of Government (wherein the difference was not much, yet he exceeded him in the manner: It being with such an excellent temper of *Monarchy* with *popularity*: He preserved the peoples liberty, with the honour of a King, and common security, without pride of Tyranny. The people living as well under the King without servitude, as in a popular estate without sedition, and yet he tempered all, with just liberty of conscience, and the true worship and service of God, which he owned as the chief *Diamond* in his Crown, and conveyed all to his successors

His Character

by

414 The Life of Gustavus Ericson, &c.

by a better, and more enduring settlement than *Augustus* did, or could attain unto: His worst enemies never publicly taxed him with any crime but covetousness: And *Thuanus* (a Writer of credit in those times) gives no countenance thereto: Nor did the Patrimony left by him to his children, hold forth any such thing, and therefore if any such thing were, it was for the service of the state of *Sueden*, wherein, if he spared not others, its confessed by all, that he spared not his own estate. His infirmities were common to other men, and must be acknowledged *vicia naturæ, non animi*, as infirmities of nature, not of purpose of minde. If his fame rather mounted upwards, than spread abroad, we may thank the subtilty of those times, who liked not that the splendor of his Religion should dazel their own, and we may pity the distempers of those dawnings that knew not how to value that *Morning Star* till it was set. It was *Augustus* his lot, after a long and honourable Reign, to dye, and yet *Tum quidem pauci luxerant, postea temporis omnes*: Few mourned at his death, but a while after, all. For *Tyberius* succeeded him, who was as wicked, as *Augustus* was good: And whatever the people thought of *Gustavus* whilst he lived, a while after when *Ericus* came to Reign, they knew what it was to want their *Gustavus*: Of whom it may truly be said, that he dyed a King, a Patriot, a Knight, a Christian, true and unconquered, and yet lives a monument of the truth of that Golden Sentence, uttered by the God of Truth, *Him that honours me, will I honour.*

Deo Tri-uni Gloria.

The

The Life, and Death of Mrs.
Jane Ratcliffe, who dyed
Anno Christi 1638.

Mrs. *Jane Ratcliffe* was born of good Parents, who were morally Civil, and moderately Religious, according to the temper of the times wherein they lived: Her Uncle was Mr. *Edward Brerewood*, a learned Professor in *Gresham College London*. In her younger years she was rather Civil than Religious, and sometimes rather merry than Civil; yet lightsome without lightness, or immodesty: Though too much delighted with dancing, Stage-plays, and other publick vanities, according to the fashion of young folkes, especially in those times when these things were so well thought of, that they were admitted to be acted in the Churches. But it pleased God, according to his election of Grace, in due time to call her by the Ministry of Mr. *Nicholas Byfield*, who was a powerfull, and a profitable Preacher of Gods Word at that time in the City of *Chester*; which also was seconded by the afflicting hand of God, who took away her first Child (which she much took to heart) but God made it an occasion to make her his own Child by Adoption, and Grace. For from that time the meanes of Grace had a more kindly operation upon her, which made her ever after more to mind her Father in Heaven, than any Child she had upon earth.

Her parentage

Her conversion.

The manner
of it.

Yet at first she rather feared God than loved him, whence were engendred many perplexing scruples in her soul, which for the present were very grievous unto her: For her Spirit was sore wounded, and *A wounded spirit, who can bear*, Prov. 18. 14. The truth is, the pangs of her New Birth were so painfull, and bitter, and sometimes so terrible, that it was a difficult thing to fasten any comfort upon her. But after the Lord had chastened her soul with his severe Discipline, and thereby had prepared her for a Cure, he shewed himself her most favourable and effectual *Physician*, according to that *Job 5. 18. He maketh sore, and bindeth up, he wound, and his hands make whole.* For he quieted her troubled spirit, and settled it in the assurance of his love.

Her excellent
parts.

Being thus, through Gods goodness, converted, and comforted, it pleased him to bestow many excellent endowments upon her, both Intellectuall, and Morall. For by her frequent, and attentive hearing of Sermons, and reading good Books, the Bible especially (unto which she was addicted with an incredible desire, and delight) and by moving Questions to such as she thought best able to answer them, she became an excellent proficient in the most sound, and usefull points of Religion: yet took she not upon her to teach any but her own children, and servants, though an *Apollos* might not have disdained to learn of such a *Priscilla*, Act. 18. 22.

Heavenliness.

She medled but little in worldly matters, and when she did, she little minded them: yet (shadowing her self from acquaintance with the world) she shined gloriously in her knowledge of God, and Heavenly matters.

As

As she had occasion to converse with others she shewed her self a very prudent *Abigail: The Word of God* (as S^t Paul prescribeth) *dwelt richly in her in all wisdom*, which appeared in her speech, in her silence, in her carriage, and in her actions.

Her prudence.

In her speech: for (as the same Apostle requireth) *being enriched both in knowledge, and utterance*, 1 Cor. 1. 5. *She opened her mouth with wisdom*, as that rare woman, Prov. 31. 26. having (as S^t Jerome dictated to *Celantia*) thought beforehand what she should speak, and while she was yet silent, forecasting that she might say nothing, which afterwards she would wish to be unsaid again; and so she was fitted, and well prepared either to counsell, or to comfort, to reprove, or to plead for, as there was occasion.

In her speech.

Yet was she not (as some women would have been, with her abilities, and some without them have been) obstreperously talkative, nor affected by her words to make any ostentation of her wit, or other good parts: but very sparing of her speech, so that she was as much observed for her silence, as for her discreet discourse when there was just occasion, and opportunity. For she had learned, That *In multitude of words there wants not sin*, Prov. 10. 19. That *Whosoever keeps his mouth, and his tongue keeps his soul*, Prov. 22. 23. That *Death and life are in the power of the tongue*, Prov. 18. 21. That *Tatling women are condemned by the Apostle*, 1 Tim. 5. 13. That *of every idle word account must be given at the day of judgement*, Mat. 12. 36. And that they who profess Religion, and refrain not their tongues, their Religion

In her silence.

is vain, Jam. 1. 26: This moved her, with *David*, to resolve that her mouth should not offend, *Psalme* 17. 3.

Her holy communication.

Certainly such silence as she used (in those that know how to speak) is an argument of wisdom: For a wise man (saith *Solomon*) and it is as true of a woman) *holdeth his peace*, Prov. 11. 12. And he that *restrains his lips is wise*, Prov. 10. 19. And so far was she from speaking ill, especially of the absent, or of her betters, that *St. Jeroms* precept to *Celantia*, was set forth in her practice, which was, rather to look to her own life, than to carp at anothers. And she well knew that where *corrupt communication* is restrained, there that which is *good to the use of edifying* is required: Yet was she so wise, and wary, even in the use of good words, as to observe when, and where, and before whom to use them, and the season when to give over as well as when to begin her discourse.

Her wise demeanour.

She gave farther proof of her prudence in her carriage, and behaviour: And Bishop *Hall* in his *Contemplations* makes this a very good proof of wisdom. There are some (saith he) whose speeches are witty, while their carriage is weak, whose deeds are incongruities, whilest their words are *Apothegmes*. It is not worth the name of wisdom that may be heard only, and not seen. Good discourse is but the froth of wisdom: the pure, and solid substance of it is well-framed actions. And according to this we may commend her conversation for prudence in practice, above that which, she shewed either in the use, or restraint of her tongue: For as *St. Jerom* saith, She taught others

others more by her example than by her speech, much more, then by her silence. She was a woman of a well compos'd spirit, discreetly advis'd, framing her affairs by good direction of grace, and reason, without any direction of humour or passion, which bore no sway over her at all, and very seldome had any shew, or appearance in her, but when her discretion told her it was fit to make use of them for due advertisement to others; and then she would order it with such moderation, as that neither her words, nor her looks, nor her gestures, carried any colour of contradiction to her prudence, and piety: So that her wisdom was a protection to the reputation of her piety against all scornfull reproaches: Yea it was a promotion of the Christian profession to more estimation in her person, and for her sake.

And though she was singularly gifted, yet was she far from their disposition who think they do nothing well unless they be singular: and though she had less to do with worldly matters, than most would have had in her condition, yet therein also she gave that proof of prudence which *Solomon* observeth, *Prov.* 14. 1. *A wise woman (saith he) builds her house:* For she was very provident in managing her Family affairs both whilst she was married, and when she was a widow also.

Now from her Intellectual parts, let us pass to her Morall, and we shall find, that though she had a very good head, richly stored with ingenious, and religious notions, yet she had a far better heart, more abundantly furnished with excellent graces, whereof we will single out some.

Her faith.

1. For her faith, which is the hand that turneth the key to unlock the storehouse of divine beneficence: This appeared by a Paper written with her own hand, wherein she did let down the *Articles* of her *faith* in full, plain, and perspicuous terms with pertinent proofs of Scripture to every point, and then she maketh particular application thereof to her self, as thus:

The confession of her faith.

"I do believe the Scriptures to be the very Word of God, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16. 2 *Pet.* 1. 21. and I have found them so to me by the witness of Gods Spirit, which I have felt testifying of them, and by the unutterable comfort which I have received by them, wonderfully refreshing my heart when it was in the deepest distress, whereby God hath made them so good unto me that I account them *better than thousands of gold, and silver*, *Psal.* 119. 72.

"I do believe that God made man at first *after his own Image*, *Gen.* 1. 26. which Image did chiefly consist in *knowledge*, and *holiness*, *Eccles.* 7. 29. *Eph.* 4. 24. and out of admiration of this Image, I do long for that time when I *shall be satisfied* with it, *Psal.* 17. 15.

"I do believe that all mankind hath sinned, 1 *King.* 8. 46. and that the nature of man is stained with sin from the birth, *Psal.* 51. 5. I know, and must acknowledge that the cause of all the afflictions which do befall me in this life is in my self, and I know no cause to murmur at my crosses when I look upon my sin.

"I do believe that Jesus Christ is God, and my God, *Psal.* 68. 20. and in that he is a God, and
" my

" my God, it doth exceedingly comfort me : For he
 " is full of grace to supply my wants ; a Counsellor to
 " direct me in my doubts, Almighty to defend me, and
 " an everlasting Father to love, pittie, and bear with
 " mine infirmities, and to spare me ; a Prince of peace
 " to perform reconciliation with his Father for me, and
 " to fill me with the *peace which passeth all understand-*
 " *ing*, and that he will establish, and order me hence-
 " forth, and for ever.

" I do believe that the Passion of Christ was by the
 " eternall decree, and appointment of God, *Act.*
 " 2. 23. and that his sorrows were sustained for our
 " sins, and for our sakes, so as he bore all our iniqui-
 " ties, 1 *Pet.* 2. 24. and that in his own person, he full-
 " filled, and finished all sufferings needfull for our sal-
 " vation, 1 *Pet.* 3. 18 and that his Passion (so grie-
 " vous as cannot be imagined) is a sufficient price for
 " the sins of the world, *Joh.* 2. 29. therefore why
 " should not I be willing to suffer any thing for his sake,
 " that hath suffered so great things for me: and say
 " (with St. Paul) *God forbid that I should rejoyce in any*
 " *thing but in the Croſs of Christ.* I will for ever trust
 " in him ; and relie upon him as the lite of my life,
 " and as to me *both in life, and death advantage :* and
 " having such a proof of the infinite love of God to me
 " in not sparing his own Son, but giving him up to
 " death for me, shall I ever doubt of my freedome
 " from condemnation, such a price being paid for the
 " discharge of my debts by such a surety ?

" I do believe that Christ overcame sin, death,
 " the grave, and Hell, and rose again from the dead,
 " ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand

" of

" of God in Majesty, *Rom. 1. 4.* and that he hath
 " purchased his Church by his blood, and that he is a
 " Lawgiver to his Church, *Fam. 4. 12.* which is ga-
 " thered by his voice, *Joh. 17. 9.* separated from
 " sinfull society with the world: For she is an holy
 " Church, *Eph. 5. 25.* yet dispersed over the world;
 " for she is *Catholick*, *Eph. 1. 10.* and though *Ca-*
 " *tholick*, and dispersed, yet but one, *Eph. 4. 4.*
 " knit unto Christ by an indissoluble union, *Col. 1. 18.*
 " And I am sure that I am a member of this Church
 " For I am called out of sinfull communion with the
 " world by the voice of the Ministers of Christ, who
 " are in his stead, and separated from it by the power
 " of the Word, and I do rely upon Christs merits
 " for righteousness, and salvation. I do not delight
 " in the society of the wicked, but in theirs who fear
 " him, whom I love with sincere affections, as the
 " most worthy people of the world, and whatsoever I
 " want of an holy life, yet I do not live after my old
 " evil conversation; but I constantly endeavour to be
 " more, and more holy. What thanks shall I give
 " unto God, who hath called me out of darkness into
 " his marvellous light, and saved me from the com-
 " mon condemnation of the world? O the depth of
 " the love of Christ unto me!
 " I do believe that there shall be a generall Judge-
 " ment, *Psal. 9. 8.* that Christ shall be the Judge,
 " a visible Judge in his humane nature, *Act. 17. 13.*
 " that it shall be at the last day; but the precise day,
 " and hour is not known to any man, or Angel, *Mat.*
 " *24. 36.* that then every man shall be judged, *Jude*
 " *15.* and every secret thing shall be brought to
 " light,

"light, *Rom.2.16.* and that the judgement will be
 "most just, and so confessed by all, *Rom.2.5,6.* why
 "then should I fear the last Judgement, seeing he
 "shall be my Judge who is my Brother, Advocate,
 "and Redeemer? He that was willingly judged for
 "me, will give no hard sentence against me; yea he
 "hath already absolved me from my sins, and given
 "me the earnest of his Spirit, and the seal of the Sa-
 "craments, and I have judged my self that I *may not*
 "*be condemned with the world,* *1 Cor.11.32.*

"I do beleieve that the glory of Heaven is unspeak-
 "able, and incomprehensible by us here on earth,
 "1 *Cor.2.9.* that is it eternal, *Matth.25.45.* and that it
 "is the gift of God proceeding onely from his free
 "Grace, not our merit, *Luke 12.32.* his free gift be-
 "stowed onely upon the Elect, *Rev.21.27.* O that I
 "could by the effectualness of contemplation behold
 "the greatness of this felicity which is provided for
 "me! yet as I can conceive it, I cannot choose but
 "long to be absent from hence, that I may be *present*
 "*with the Lord,* 2 *Cor.5.8.* whose admirable beauty
 "I shall clearly see, and know as I am known, and
 "that with a perfection both of holiness and happi-
 "ness; such holiness as will not onely free me from all
 "sin, but from all possibility of sinning; such hap-
 "piness as that, ceasing from all labour and sorrow, I
 "shall enjoy an eternal *Sabbath*, and shall be free to
 "all the treasures of Heaven, and (with the fruition
 "of Gods glorious presence) shall enjoy the sweet
 "society of all the glorified Saints and Angels. And
 "all this, as it is unutterable, so it is unalterable: For
 "as I cannot be disappointed of it because it is certain,

“so I cannot be deprived of it because it is eternal.
 “How then should the hope of the future life, but
 “swallow up the afflictions of the life present? and
 “why should I fear Death, when being dead I shall be
 “so blessed?

Her Faith.

Yet was not her Faith elevated so high, but that she could readily apply it to promises of an interiour degree: For as she trusted *in God at all times*, as David teacheth, *Psal. 62.8.* so did she in all things, whether temporal or eternal. In straits and difficulties for the affairs of this life, she had that ready at hand: *Commit thy way unto the Lord, trust also in him, and he shall bring it to pass*, *Psal. 37.5.* If at any time she was sinisterly censured by any one, her faith applied that promise to her heart, *He shall bring forth thy righteousness as the light, and thy judgement as the noon day*, *Psal. 35.6.* And whatsoever it were that came upon her as a cross, her faith was either as a wreath betwixt her shoulders and it, that it did not pinch her, or a remover of it from her self to him, who was best able to bear it, by vertue of that Warrant, *Psal. 55.22. Cast thy burthen upon the Lord, and he shall sustain thee*, and that done, her faith which teacheth to keep an even pace with the promises, not making haste, *Isa. 28.16.* by anticipating the time of accomplishment, taught her soul to wait upon God, as David did, *Psal. 62.1.* to effect his own work, at his own time, in his own way and manner, wherein she would not prescribe any thing at all.

Her Comfort.

By this daily exercise of her Faith, she gained a great deal of freedome, and lightsonness of spirit, which admirably appeared in her deportment upon
 great

great disappointments of that which was her own due, and unexpected payments unto others : when she hath seen no way of supply for the present occasions, she hath believed that Gods providence would effect what her forecast could not, when she was not wanting in the use of means, and that he could furnish her with that which should be sufficient, albeit for the present she saw not how, nor by what means it would come to pass; and therefore when she had done what belonged to her duty, in the assiance of her Faith, she rested quiet, and remained cheerful, and slept neither the less, nor the worse for it; and that which confirmed her confidence the more was, that she still found by experience that God was most worthy to be trusted.

That her Faith was as good as it was great, appeared by the effect of it in her Devotion and Piety, which was suitable to her knowledge of God, and her faith in him; by both which, as she had a clear apprehension of him, so none had more dear, and devout affections to him, or more assured signs of such, than she, as appeared in these particulars :

She was frequently, and fervently conversant with God (besides the publick) in her private supplications, and therein was he most favourably familiar with her; for he sent forth his Spirit into her heart, whereby she cried, *Abba Father*, Gal. 4. 6. *The Spirit of Grace and Supplication*, Zach. 12. 10. which enabled her in an extraordinary manner and measure to pour out her soul into his bosome; and though she duely esteemed of the solemn prayers of the sacred Assemblies (where- of a learned and pious Divine said, that never any one prayed well privately, who contemned, or neglected

Her frequent
Prayers.

the publick prayers of the Church) and never slighted, or censured set forms of Prayer, yet could she, and that excellently well, conceive Prayer, and vary her Petitions as the present occasion did require.

Her fervent
Prayers.

Yea in this Devotion she was so abundant in apt and pertinent expressions, that indeed it was admirable, that one so silent in her common conversation with the world, should be so fluent, and eloquent in her intercourse with God. Nor was she more copious in speech, than fervent in spirit: For such was her holy violence in Prayer, as that she seemed not to knock at Heaven Gate for another to open it, but to make a battery upon it her self, and to break in by the powerful importunity of her supplications.

Her prevalent
Prayers.

Her service also of God in this kinde, was no dry Devotion, but steeped, and drenched in showres of tears; and though her prudence used as much privacy as might be herein, yet such a singular gift could not be hid from her servants, and some secret female friends, who sometimes, when they were sick, or possessed with fears, or pains of child-birth, they would move her with importunity to pray with them, and when she yeilded to them, and God to her, by answering her request, they were apt (as there was cause) to impute the good effect to her fervent supplications. A female friend of hers (who was her bed-fellow in *London* for many weeks together) and thereby was a partaker of her daily Devotions, professed that she was so plentifully furnished for utterance of her requests to God, that she never wanted variety of meet words to be presented unto him, but when a
fur-

surcharge of sighs and tears put her Prayers to a pause.

When the heart is full of love, the mouth is filled with praise of a person most deservedly, and most dearly beloved, whereof we have an example in this vertuous Gentlewoman, who when time, company, and occasion did invite her to communicate to others the good matter which her *heart* had *indsted* of God, she used her *Tongue as the pen of a ready writer*, Psal. 45. 1. And when she had that great King for the subject of her speech, she spake of him with such hearty and savoury relishes of sacred delight and reverence, and with such an affectionate force, as if her soul were ready to leap out at her lips into the ears of others, to kindle the same holy fire in their hearts who heard her, which burned in her own bosome, longing (as *David* did) that others might *taste, and see the goodness of the Lord*, Psal. 34. 8. that they might be Rivals with her in her Religious love; and glad she was when any sinner was converted, or any already called, better enabled to promote the glory of God, and that was the end which she principally aimed at in her godly discourse of him

Her holy
Speech.

In giving vent to her heart in this duty, she could spend her spirits with great delight, both to her self, and to those choice friends who had opportunity to hear her, when just occasion was ministred unto her, and yet when she had spoken best, she found matter of complaint in her own expressions, as being too faint, and too flat, and so far below that which was meet for the Majesty of the great God, inasmuch as all the acceptation which she desired of him, was but

Her Humility

to pardon her presumption (as the error of her love) for taking upon her to speak of his Excellency, and the weakness of her spirit and speech, which made her fall infinitely short of doing him right in the publication of his praise.

Her love to
Gods children

Another evidence of her dear affection unto God, was the great love, which for his sake, she bore to whom, or whatsoever had any near relation to him, according to that *1 Joh. 4.21. He that loves God must love his brother also*: and he must love him rather in a direct, than in a collateral line, as Gods childe, rather than as his brother, more for Gods sake than for his own: The dearest degree of love belongs to those persons and things which are nearest to him, and to such she bore a sincere, and singular good will: As to his Saints with *David*, *Psalm 16.3.* and to his true Religion, and worship, both at home, and abroad, the happy progress and prosperity whereof was with her (as *Jerusalem* with *David*) preferred above her chiefest joy, *Psalm 137.6.* and it was a great affliction to her heart, to hear any ill tidings of any good man, or any good cause.

and to the
Church of
Christ.

Her love to
the Word and
Sacrament,

She highly prized Gods word, and in the blessed Sacrament of the Lords Supper, she felt such a sweet refreshing as might make amends for the severity of her frequent fasting, so that for her part, and portion of it, in respect of the common sort of Communicants, she might say, *I have meat that ye know not of*, *Joh. 4.32.* Dainties, which infinitely exceed whatsoever delighteth, or pleaseth a sensual palate: For the house of God, she shewed her self just of *Dauids* minde, when she said, *I have loved the habitation of thy house,*

the place where thine honour dwelleth, Psal. 26. 8. and How amiable are thy Tabernacles, O Lord of Hosts, my soul longeth, yea even fainteth for the Courts of the Lord, Psal. 84. 1, 2.

If by any imperious impediment she were kept from the Church (as by sickness in her body, &c.) her soul was love-sick by her longings to be there; and whereas many women take a little occasion to absent themselves from it, she would many times force her feeble body to carry her soul to the Sanctuary, though the day before she were confined not only to her chamber, but to her bed; whereby though she hazarded her health, yet it pleased God so graciously to accept of her zeal to his House, that she was never the worse for those pious adventures.

and House of God.

She kept a great distance from doting on the world, which St. James condemns as *enmity to God*, Jam. 4. 4. Though while she lived she could not choose but be in the world, yet did she so love her dear Lord Jesus Christ, that for his sake she was exceedingly estranged from the world; which appeared,

Her weariness from the world.

1. By her estrangement from sensual delights, which she shewed by her frequent fasting from meats and drinks: By her abstinence from such sports and pastimes as before her conversion she had been too immoderately addicted unto, and by her firm resolution to forbear Marriage after her widowhood, and to rest in that condition wherein she might best attend upon the service of God.

Indeed her love, and delight in communion with God, made her mindeless of meat, and careless of provision for the flesh. Well she knew, that though fasting

Her frequent Fasting.

ing.

ing makes the body weak (as *David* saith, *My knees are weak through fasting, and my flesh faileth of fatness*, Psal. 109. 20.) yet it strengthneth the spirit, and maketh it vigorous in conflict, and victoribus in the event; yea fasting and prayer make a potent combination, which is able to drive the strongest Devil out of his usurped possession, as *Matth. 17. 21.* These two she used, not onely as weapons against the Devil, but as wings to elevate her soul God-ward and heaven-ward; yet herein was she observant of our Saviours rule, *Mat. 17. 18.* that she fasted without an appearance of fasting, onely the next day it might be discerned by her faintness, she having spent her spirits in spiritual exercises the day before.

Her abstinence
from Sports,

For those sports and pastimes wherein formerly she had taken too much contentment, she not onely abstained from them, but much complained of her vanity in them: Her eyes (which before were used to behold them with delight, now) shed tears of shame and sorrow, that formerly she had set her minde so much upon them, and now she employed them in the more frequent and affectionate reading of the holy Scriptures, wherein she took more delight than she had done before in the most pompous Spectacles, set out to take the eyes with gazing, and the minde with wonder.

and from
Marriage.

And as for Marriage, her heart was so devoted to her Lord Christ, that though she had divers fair invitations to it, by such as both for profit, and credit, and other considerable respects, were worthy rather to be desired, than denied, yet she resolved not to change her condition in that kinde, and that not onely in love,
and

and loyalty to her former Husband, but that she might be more free to serve God according to that of St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. 34. *The unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy both in body and spirit; but she that is married careth for the things of the world how she may please her Husband.*

2. She had so chosen God for her portion, and set up her rest in the riches of his love, that she had but little minde of the worlds riches. She knew, that riches may be had, and well used of the Religious; and that poverty alone commends no man unto God, as St. Jerome speaks, yet did she not dote upon them; but though she was competently careful and frugal, as Christ prescribeth, Joh. 6. 12. *Gather up the broken meat that nothing be lost;* and though she was provident as the Apostle requires, 1 Tim. 5. 8. *If any provide not for his own, and especially for those of his own house, he hath denied the faith, and is worse than an Infidel;* yet withall beleiving that of the Prophet David, Psal. 37. 16. *A little that the righteous hath is better than the riches of many wicked;* and as conforming her self to that of St. John, *Love not the world, nor the things of the world,* 1 Joh. 2. 15. She often besought of Almighty God rather to make, and keep her poor, than to suffer her heart in any sort to sink down from her Maker, to dote upon *Mammon*.

She was one that could very well finde in her heart to honour God with her substance, as Prov. 3. 9. She was as cheerful in her layings out for him, as any Miser could be in his layings up for himself; and when she heard of the irreligious Parsimony of some towards the maintenancance of the publick Ministry in that City

Her weakness from the world.

Her bounty to the Ministry.

Her desire to
dye.

of *Chester*, she hath professed that she had rather be at all the charge of all the common contributions her self (if her estate would bear it) than that God should be grumbled at, or his service poorly prized, or the wages of his work unwillingly paid.

Another undoubted testimony of her true love to God, was in that she so much desired to dye out of a fervent affection to him, insomuch that she feared a long life would keep her too long from the enjoyment of him; being therein like unto *David* in those ardent aspirations of his, *As the Hart panteth after the water Brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God, my soul thirsteth for God, for the living God, when shall I come, and appear before him, Psal 42. 1, 2.*

That which worldlings are most afraid of, that she so much wished for, that her friends were fain to plead with her to be pleased with life, though she, not being contented with their Arguments, contended against them by contrary reason, shewing first why she did desire to dye. Secondly, why she was not afraid of Death, and hoping that it would not tarry long, she had in readiness some special matters to be remembered at her Death, which she left in writing under her own hand, and are as followeth:

First, *Why I desire to dye:*

Why she de-
sired Death.

“ I desire to dye, because I want while I live here,
“ the glorious presence of God, which I love and long
“ for, and that sweet fellowship of the Angels, and
“ Saints who would be glad of me as I am of them,
“ and would entertaine me with unwearied de-
“ light.

“ I desire to dye, because while I live, I shall want
“ the

“ the perfection of my nature, and be as an estranged,
“ and banished person from my Fathers house.

“ I desire to dye, because I would not live to offend
“ so good a God, nor to grieve his holy Spirit : *For*
“ *his loving kindness is better than life it self* : And
“ he is abundant in mercy to me, and it doth lye as an
“ heavy load upon my heart many times, to think of
“ displeasing him.

“ I desire to dye, because this world is generally in-
“ fected with the plague of sin, and some have this
“ Plague-fore running upon them, and I my self am
“ tainted with the same disease, so as whilst I live here,
“ I can be in no place, nor in any company, but I am
“ still in danger of being infected, or to infect others,
“ and if this world doth hate me because I endeavour
“ to follow goodness, how will it rejoyce if my foot
“ do but slip? Therefore how woful would my life
“ be unto me, if I should give occasion to the world
“ to triumph, or blaspheme in respect of me? I can-
“ not choose but desire to dye, when I consider that
“ sin, like a leprosie hath so corrupted me, that there
“ is no soundness in me, my minde, my memory, my
“ will, and affections, yea my very conscience is still
“ impure; in every faculty of my soul there is a miser-
“ able mixture of vile infection which makes me
“ aweary of my life; and all this is the worse, because
“ it is incurable, and inseparable companion of my
“ life, so that I can go no whither to avoid it; there is
“ no business that I can dispatch that concerns my
“ happiness without a murther in mine heart; though
“ Gods works be all fair works, yet there are in my
“ nature many defects, insufficiencies, mistakings
K k k 2 “ and

"and transgressions; so that I may say with *David*,
 "Innumerable evils have compassed me about, mine
 "iniquities have taken hold on me, so that I am not able
 "to look up, *Psal. 40. 12*. I therefore desire Heaven
 "for holiness rather than for happiness, that I might
 "sin no more. I desire that condition wherein I may
 "most glorifie God.

"I desire to dye, because of the Devils malignant,
 "and uncessant assaults: I can stand no where be-
 "fore the Lord on earth, but one Devil or other, is at
 "my right hand, and must of necessity enter into con-
 "flict with them, and their temptations, and be buf-
 "feted, and gored by them, which is a thousand fold
 "worse than Death: More easie it is to *wrestle with*
 "*Flesh and Blood*, than with those *Principalities and*
 "*Powers, and spiritual wickednesses*, and great Rulers
 "of the world: For they are subtle and cruel, and
 "and like *roaring Lions they go about seeking whom*
 "*they may devour*, *1 Pet. 5. 8*.

"I desire to dye, because by Death I shall rest from
 "the hard labours of this life.

"I desire to dye, because nothing in this world can
 "give me solid, and durable contentment: I am less
 "in liking of life, and have more desire of death when
 "I consider the misery that may come both on my
 "body and estate, and fearful alterations may come,
 "and wars may come, and all the desolations, and
 "terrors which accompany them, and I may be left
 "in the hands of the sons of violence: Besides I
 "daily suffer the loss of my friends who were the
 "companions of my life, and means of much content-
 "ment unto me; and those whom I lose by my life,
 "I shall

" I shall finde by my death, and enjoy in another
 " world unto all eternity : And for my children it
 " doth not trouble me, for that God which hath given
 " life and breath, and all they have, while I am living,
 " can, without me, provide for them when I am dead;
 " my God will be their God, if they be his, if they be
 " not, what comfort would it be for me to live : my
 " life would be exceeding bitter unto me if I should
 " see them dishonour God, whom I so much
 " love.

When she enjoyed the greatest portion of temporal
 or spiritual comfort, yet would she never say, *Master,*
it is good to be here, as *Matth. 17.4.* but making that
 but a step for an higher ascent, she rather inferred, It
 is good going hence : For if on earth there be so much
 good, how pleasant and desirable is Heaven; the joyes
 on earth to those that are there, are but as the earth
 is to Heaven, little, and low, dark, and heavy.

Why I do not fear Death.

" I fear not Death, because it is but the separation
 " of the body from th sould, and that it is but a shadow
 " of the body of death, *Rom. 7.24.* whereas the separa-
 " tion of the soul from God by sin, *Isa. 59.2.* and of
 " soul and body for sin, is death indeed.

Why she feared
not death.

" I fear not Death, because Death is such an enemy
 " as hath been often vanquished, and because I am
 " armed for it, and the *weapons of my Warfare are*
 " *mightry through God,* and I am assured of victory.

" I do not fear Death for the pain of it; for I am
 " perswaded I have endured as great pains in life, as I
 " shall finde in Death, and Death will cure me of all
 " sorts of pains; and because Christ dyed a terrible

“and cursed Death, that any kinde of Death might
 “be blessed to me; and that God, who hath greatly
 “loved me in life, will not neglect me in death; but
 “his Spirit will succour and strengthen me all the time
 “of the combate.

“I do not fear Death for any loss: For I shall but
 “lose my body by it, and that is but a prison to my
 “soul, an old rotten house, or ragged garment, nay I
 “shall not lose that neither, for I shall have it restored
 “again at my Saviours second coming made much
 “better than now it is: For this *vile body* shall be like
 “the Body of Christ, and by death I shall obtain a far
 “better life.

And as an incentive of Divine love, she prepared a
 briefe of Gods principal benefits to her self for me-
 ditation on her Death-bed, and for thanksgiving to
 God, which was this:

Her thankfull
 praises.

“How shall I praise God, 1. For my Conversion.
 “2. For his Word, both in respect of my affections
 “to it, and the wonderful comforts I have had by it.
 “3. For hearing of my prayers. 4. For godly for-
 “row. 5. For fellowship with the godly. 6. For joy
 “in the Holy Ghost. 7. For the desire of death.
 “8. For contempt of the world. 9. For private
 “helps and comforts. 10. For giving me some
 “strength against my sin. 11. For preserving me
 “from gross evils both before, and after my cal-
 “ling, &c.

Her universal
 obedience.

She shewed her holy love to God, by conforming
 her practice to his Precepts, according to that *Job.*
14. 15. If you love me, keep my Commandements. She
 thought nothing too much that she should stick at (if
 God

God commanded, or forbad it) nothing so small, but his Word was able to give it weight enough to bow down her neck to the obedience of it. If it was a greater matter that he required of her, she considered, that he was a God infinitely, both great and good, and that unto her, who had and would do for her ten thousand times more and greater things than she could do for him : If it were a little thing, she conceived that the contempt or neglect of it would aggravate her guilt, as *Naamans* servants said to their Master, *If the Prophet had bidden thee do some great matter, wouldst thou not have done it ? How much rather when he saith unto thee, wash, and be clean ?* 2 King. 5. 18. the less the duty is, the more is the disobedience if we do it not ; for thereby we extenuate the Authority of the Almighty, and such as sleight it in a little thing, will not regard it in a greater : She was therefore very precise in every point which God required the performance of.

By this means she still increased in holiness and sanctification, and kept a greater distance from great offences; according to that of *St. Ferom*, *Non cito ad majora progreditur, qui parva formidet*, who so is afraid of a small sin, will not easily grow bold on those that are greater. Her love to God was *strong as death*, Cant. 8. 4. yea, and much stronger, so that Death could not affright her, for she desired dally to look death in the face, nor could it hurt her more than she was content to endure : For though it was not likely that she should go through the narrow wicket of Death, and not be pinched in her passage, yet was she well contented with it, seeing it was the ready way to

come

Her love to
God.

come to God, whom she so much longed to behold.

Her Charity.

Her Charity was very chary of the credit of the absent, towards whom she would not suffer either her tongue, or her ears be guilty of any wrong or robbery of their reputations. She never imposed false crimes, or feigned faults upon others: She never discovered their secret sins, or aggravated those that were known: She never denied, dissembled, nor diminished the vertue or good parts of any. Though her hatred of sin was such as became a sincere Christian, yet knew she how to distinguish betwixt sin, and the sinner, and setting a severe dislike on the one, she reserved (as charity required) love, or compassion for the other.

Her Charity was regular according to the Rules of Scripture, which she set down in a paper, with quotations of Texts for her direction in four particulars, 1. *I must give readily*, Job 31.16. *Prov.* 3.28. *1 Tim.* 6.18. 2. *I must give secretly*, *Matth.* 6.3. 3. *I must give liberally*, *2 Cor.* 8.12. & 9.6. 4. *I must give cheerfully*, *2 Cor.* 8.12. It was answerable also according to her own ability, and others necessities: She had rather give a little to many (since the number of the needy is very great) then a great deal to a few; and she so ordered her charity, that she might still be able to exercise her hand that way, and not as some, who give so much that after a while they can give no more. And upon extraordinary occasions, if she were not magnificent, the let was not in her minde, but in her means.

Her Charity was vigorous, and so cordial that what she

she gave was alwayes without grudging, knowing that God loves a *cheerful giver*, 2 Cor. 9. 7. yea she was so cheertul herein, that she bestowed nothing upon her self with more readines, than she did upon others, whether it were towards the maintenance of the Ministry, or in giving Almes to the poor; and yet herein did she follow the rule of our Saviour, *Matth. 23. 63* *Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doth*; for she was many times as close in giving her own, as a Thief would be in taking away from others; so that none did more good deeds with less shew, or sound of words than she.

For the object of her charity, she took her direction from the Apostles precept, *Gal. 6. 10. Do good unto all, but especially to the household of faith*. She indeed shut up her charity from none that had need of it, but she enlarged it chiefly to such as were of the faithfull.

Her love and charity was very intire, and great to her friends, yet not so confined to them, but that she reserved a competent measure for them that dealt unfriendly with her, or that were enemies to her. If there was any unkinde difference between her, and any one, though she enjoyed the freedome of her judgement to think as there was cause, yet would she not suffer her affections to be estranged from them, but was ready to do them good, if power, and opportunity did furnish her for it. She requited love for hatred, pity for spight, friendly offices for offensive usages. She bare ill will to none. She hated nothing, but that which is worse than nothing [Sin] and that she hated in all, and most of all in her own soul.

As her Charity was evidenced by doing, so also by

Her love to
her neighbours

Her Sympathy

suffering : If any tribulation were upon others , or imminent over them , she was like minded with her Lord and Master , according to that of the Prophet, *Iſa. 63. 9. In all their afflictions he was afflicted.* She did passionately ſympatize in the ſufferings of her fellow-members : If it was ill with the Church, or any particular Saints; it was no better with her. Charity made her ſuffer as much by inward affection , as they did of their enemies by outward affliction.

Her Patience.

Her Patience alſo was very remarkable : For though her apprehenſions were quick enough to conceive any thing tending to the diſturbance of peace and patience ; yet ſhe enjoyed ſuch a calmneſs of ſpirit as could hardly be turned to a ſtorm. If any were injurious towards her , her tongue could more readily pray, and her eyes weep for them, than with looks, or words of indignation, or diſdain ſet upon them. If ſhe were angry at others, which was very ſeldome, it was ſin, their ſin that was the cauſe of it. It news came to her of any loſſes in her eſtate , as ſometimes there did of great ones , yet was ſhe never put out of temper with thoſe ill tidings , having theſe conſiderations ready at hand to quiet her heart : It is that God that gave all , that now taketh away ſome , why ſhould I take it ill ? He would not have me to be in love with, nor to rely upon *uncertain riches* , which were never true to any that truſted them, but upon himſelf , and I willingly renounce them to reſt upon him. He can, if he ſee it good , recompence the loſs, in the like , or ſome better kinde. If he take more , there will yet be many poorer than my ſelf ; and if he take away all my goods , he can give me content without them , for he

he is *All-sufficient*, and so though I have nothing, I may be *as possessing all things*, 2 Cor. 6. 10. The world and I must part, and whether we be unfixed by parcels, or torn asunder by taking all at once, all is one to me; that which he chooseth is best for us both, for his owne glory, and my good, if I grudge not against him, but willingly (as I pray) give way to his will.

By bodily sufferings her patience was exceedingly tried both for the truth and strength of it: For of some of her children she had long, painful, and very perilous labour; but that which exceeded all, was, a long, and sore sickness, to which were applied very rough and irksome remedies, so that she suffered not onely the anguish of her disease, but many things also of the *Physicians*, as that woman in the Gospel, *Mark* 5. 28. and had it onely been pain and torment, it had been more tolerable; but it was accompanied with a strange infirmity and deformity. Her jaw being fallen, she could not bring it up towards her upper jaw: Her mouth was drawn awry towards her ears, so that with much difficulty both to her self and others, her food was conveyed through so crooked a passage to her throat; which might have caused the greater discontent to her minde, because it was the shipwrack of much beauty and comeliness, which until then was seated in her countenance, and whereof she kept remarkable impressions to her dying day; yet shewed she admirable patience under this great affliction, to which her heart was brought meekly to submit; and concerning which, she said, that if it pleased the Lord still to continue her a spectacle of deformed misery, she would not repine at his doing, or her own suffering, but would

willingly, abide it until he freed her body from the diseate by health, or her soul from her body by death.

Her Modesty.

Her Modesty also manifested it self by her shame-faced estrangement from sin and vanity, concerning which vertue in her it may be said, that it was rather sometimes too much, than any time too little, and it shewed it self divers wayes.

1. In her look, which was habitually composed to a modest and gracious gravity, so that against any thing that was unseemly to be said, or done, she carried a severe rebuke in her very countenance; or if any were so immodest as to speak, or do any thing before her, not becoming Christianity, her modesty made some supply to their want of it, she would blush for them.

2. In her Speech, whereas some would have vaunted themselves, or made some vain-glorious shew of such sufficiency as was in her, she rather shadowed her own light with a dark Lanthorn, and therefore in that wherein she was a teacher, she carried her self as in the person of a learner, rather asking questions, than making resolutions, or giving rules, and directions unto others.

3. By her Silence: For as St. Ambrose saith, *Though silence be a rest to other vertues, yet is it a chief act, and exercise of Modesty*; yea her pace, her habit, and her whole behaviour was a lesson of modesty, which, together with her other vertues, wrought a kinde of awfulness in her person, so that those that had not grace to do well in private, were more afraid and ashamed of an appearance of evil in her presence, than in the sight of many a Magistrate.

As

As for Humility, she made great account of it, she studied it seriously, and got it so by heart, that there was no need of Art to make profession or ostentation of it. *Solomon* makes *contention* the proper effect of *pride*, Prov. 13. 10. So peaceableness is a sure sign of Humility; and this she shewed in that she could endure contradiction, reproaches, and other trials of Humility without a quarrel, or breach of peace with any, being still ready to deny her self, and to yeeld to others so far as with a safe conscience she could. Once a new Gown being brought her to put on, and presented as a gift from her Husband, wherein his kindness had put him to more cost than she wished, to make her more fine than she desired to be, she humbly besought with tears that it might not come upon her back; she said indeed little with her tongue, but her eyes spoke much, because she was loath to contradict him whom she was bound to obey; and at last she submitted to his will, though against her own, not onely because that habit was no better than others of her rank did wear, but because it was a testimony of her Husbands love, and of her own loyal subjection to his will; wherein she followed the advice of Bishop Hall in his *Contemplations*. *It is not* (saith he) *for a good wife to judge of her Husbands will but to execute it; neither wit, nor stomach may carry her into a curious inquisition into the reasons of an enjoyned charge, much less to a resistance, but in an hoodwinked simplicity she must follow whithersoever she is led, as one that holds her chief praise to consist in subjection, following her Husband, as the Israelites did the cloudy Pillar, which when it stood, they stood, when it went they followed.* And indeed it was

Her Humility.

A good Wife.

no marvel that she was so obsequious to her Husband, for amongst her papers were found special directions which she had drawn out of the Scripture, for her conjugal affection, and behaviour towards her Husband, which were these which follow, under this Title;

Duties which concern me in particular.

“ I must submit my self to my Husband, *as to the Lord*, Eph. 5.22.

“ I must account him my *Head*, Eph. 5.23.

“ I must be in subjection to him in all things, *as the Church unto Christ*, Eph. 5.24.

“ I must get his consent even for those times that I set apart for Religious duties, 1 Cor. 7.5, 10.

“ I must walk pleasingly towards him, 1 Cor. 7.34.

When by his death she was loosed from the *Law of her Husband*, she would have returned to a meaner habit, but because it was suitable to the place which she held in the City (as having been wife to him who had been twice *Mayor of Chester*, and divers times a *Burgess of Parliament*) and for that God made such good things neither onely, nor principally for the use, and wearing of the wicked, but for his children; and that it might not be imputed either to singularity nor nigardize, she made no remarkable change in her attire; and indeed, to keep down pride, she would not eat the *bread of idleness*, Prov. 31.27. but willingly wrought with her hands, as that vertuous woman did, vers. 13. and readily descended to such homely offices as were meet for the meanest of her servants.

Notwithstanding such excellent gifts, and graces wherewith God had enriched her soul, her mind was not
litted

Her preferring
others before
her self.

lifted up to vaunting or vanity, nor to the undervaluing or envying Gods gifts in others, but in lowliness of mind, she *esteemed others better than her self*, Phil. 2. 3. disavowing her own praise, though those that gave it, thought it much less than her due, and advancing others far before her self, though in gifts they were far below her; and no marvel, for she was not as those who are far more curious to know the faults of others than to correct their own, but an exact enquirer into her own life, a severe censurer of her own imperfections and failings; and as for others, she observed them most for that which was best in them, to make her self more holy by imitating them therein, and more humble for that wherein she fell short of them.

She often presented, and arraigned her self before Gods Tribunal to bring her self down in submission as guilty before him, begging pardon on her knees at his hands; and she came the lower by comparing her own faultiness, infirmity, and misery with his infinite Purity, Power, and Majesty, in comparison of whom, *All Nations are but as the drop of the Bucket, or the small dust in the Ballance*, Isa. 40. 15. which made her to think of him with admiration, and love, and of her self with detestation and loathing; and when she took notice of any good thing in her self, she boasted not of it, even because she had received it, and that of Gods free gift, making it a *Memento* of thankfulness to him that gave it her, knowing that he might have passed by her, and given it to another, and that he might be provoked to take it away from her, if she should take any of that glory to her self which was due unto him alone. She

Her Sincerity.

She always held this for a *Maxime*, that if it be good to be esteemed vertuous (and most desire to be so esteemed) than to be so indeed, is much better; for the substance of a good thing is alwayes better than the semblance of it; therefore she was so sincere in her whole course, that she hated the least appearance of Hypocrisie: She was one of those whom *David* blesteth for their integrity, *Bl. ssed are they who keep his Testimonies, and seek him with their whole heart*, *Psal.* 119.2. *Her love was without dissimulation*, *Kom.* 12.9. *She loved not in word, or in tongue onely, but in deed, and in truth*, *1 Joh.* 3.18. and this appeared in that she made her deeds of charity and good will alwayes better than her words, whereof she was so chary, that some blamed her for want of affability, which being objected to her, she said, *I like not the lavish language of some, who have their mouthes full of complemental curtesie to every one, though their hearts be shut and contracted, when their mouthes are so enlarged; and if they have love enough within to maintain such liberality of words without, I like my own heart the worse, that it is not so ready to attend upon my tongue, as on the sudden to minister cordial affections meet for such frank and friendly expressions.* She used rather to let her friends see her love by her works, than to hear it by her words.

Her Constancy.

Her Constancy also was very remarkable, by which her spirit was stedfast with God, and her heart stedfast in his Covenant, as the *Israelites* should have been, but were not, *Psal.* 78. 8, 37. Her faith was grounded and settled, *Col.* 1.23. so that she was not carried away with divers and strange Doctrines,
Heb.

Heb. 13.9. much less with *every wind of Doctrine*, Eph. 4.14. But what she was for faith and godliness from her first conversion, the same she was in all places, at all times, and in all companies: But for the measure or degree of Grace, she was not, as a stake in an hedge, which grows not, but as a plant in the Garden that springeth up, no dwarf in Gods house, but one that by spiritual nourishment, and daily exercise of her graces, grew up apace towards the *stature of Christ*, and as its said of the *path of the just*, Prov. 4.18. She *shined more, and more unto the perfect day*: So that she was best at last, and most heavenly minded when she had the least time to tarry on the earth.

Her growth in
Grace.

She was a loyal, and obedient Wife; a careful, and kinde, though not a fond Mother; a gentle and beneficent Mistress; a good and a charitable neighbour, and a true and constant friend.

Towards her latter end she fell into some bodily distempers, wherein she had fits or trances, like the *embrions* of death, which (by a gradual failing of her spirits) left her at last unable to speak or move, yet without any great alteration in her countenance, which, by some, was conceived to be a spice of the *Mother*, it was short, and not sharp, for she felt no pain; yet when she returned to her self, she found that she was commonly more feeble than before.

Her sickness.

Upon the *Munday* sevenight before she dyed, was the first assault given, which set Deaths pale colour upon her face and fingers from the middle joynts towards the ends; her nails turned to a blewish black, which being rubbed a while, returned again to their former complexion, and she remained that night indifferent

M m m

well;

well, the next day her disease appeared in the form and quality of a kindly ague, and so continued mostly till within three or four daies before her end, & then it turned from an intermitting Ague to a continual Feaver, that afflicted her with extream burning, and other pains which commonly accompany such a disease, especially when it rageth most as it doth towards the latter end.

During her sickness, having the free use of all her faculties, her soul, no doubt, was exercised in holy meditations; for which she had kept in store many particulars of importance to be remembred at her departure out of this world. Her desires were strong for a speedy dissolution, so that she implored God with the request of *David*, *Psal. 38. 22. Make haste to help me, O Lord my salvation:* and *Psal. 40. 13. Be pleased O Lord to deliver me, O Lord make haste to help me:* And this she desired that she might have a joyful meeting with him, and fruition of him, after whom her soul longed, even then when her life was most lightsome, and her condition most comfortable: And now the time drew near that her desire was to be granted in that kinde which she most desired, by the power of death, to pass to the Authour of life, which she did in such a calm manner that when she was thought to be but asleep, she was found to be dead, on *Friday, August the 17. Anno Christi 1638.*

Her Death.

The Life, and Death of Mr.
Ignatius Furdaine, who dyed
Anno Christi 1640.

I*gnatius Furdaine* was born at *Lime-Regis* in the County of *Dorset*, *Anno Christi 1561*. And when he was yet young, he was sent by his Friends to the City of *Exeter*, to be brought up in the profession of a Merchant, and from thence, being about fifteen years old, he was sent into the Isle of *Garnsey*; and God by his good providence having brought him to that place, did also there effectually call, and convert him by his Grace: So that from that time he resolved to be like that wise Merchant in the Gospel, *Mat. 13. 46.* to part with all for that *Pearl* of great price, whereas others did make it their great work, and highest design to get the pelf of the world, and to load themselves with thick clay, *Hab. 2. 6.* And in testimony of his thankfulness to God, he left by *Will* a considerable Legacy to the poor of *Lime* where he was born, and to the poor of *Garnsey*, where he was new born.

His Birth and Education.

His Conversion.

His holy life.

God seasoning his heart with Grace in his younger years, the general course of his life, did for the future re-lish of it, according to that of *Solomon*, *Prov. 22. 6.* *Train up a childe in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it.* For as he was trained up in Religion from his youth, so he continued not only in the form and profession, but in the life and power of it, until his old age, and death.

His early rising to converse with God.

In the whole tenour of his life, his piety was most eminent; and indeed, there have been few observed to hold such constant, and close communion with God, as Mr. *Furdaine* did. It was his constant practice for many years together, even to his old age, to arise between two and three of the clock in the morning, and that even in the coldest seasons of the year and to spend the time in secret meditation, and prayer, until six a clock, which was the appointed time for his *Morning-sacrifice* in the Family; at which time he was called from his secret devotions to the exercise of Religious Family-duties. And if at any time he had over-slept himself (as he accounted it) and did not rise until four a clock, he would much bemoan himself, for the loss of so much precious time, wherein he might have enjoyed sweet, and comfortable communion with God: Surely, had he not experimentally found much sweetness in this his spiritual converse with God, as *David* did, *Psal.* 104.34. he could not have continued so constantly therein. And having thus awaked with God in the morning, and renewed his acquaintance with him day by day, its no marvel that he did walk with him all the day long after.

He is slandered, and vindicated.

In all his affairs and dealings, his care was to walk very exactly, and sincerely, according to St. *Pauls* direction, *Eph.* 5.16. But though in all things he studied to approve himself to God, and to walk as in the sight of God, 2 *Cor.* 2.17. yet could he not escape the malicious censures of men, who charged him to do all in Hypocrisie. He well knew that he had the imputations of dissembling, and hypocrisie cast upon him, by men void of charity and sincerity; but the testimony of his

his own conscience did more comfort him, than the uncharitable censures of men dejected him; and he used upon that occasion to take up the words of *Job*, *Till I dye I will not remove mine integrity from me*, *Job.27.5*. Many have oft heard him to profess, that he would not willingly commit a sin to get a world, though the *evil which he would not do that did he*, as *Rom.7.25*. (as it is incident to the best of men) yet did he bewail it with grief of heart.

The sincerity indeed both of his intentions and actions hath been questioned by some, who were not ashamed to say, that under colour of doing Justice (when he was a publick Magistrate) and providing for poor, he robbed the poor, and helpt to keep his own house which was due to the poor: But for that falsehood that was thus charged upon him, there were none that could ever better clear him from it than himself, not onely his conscience witnessing for him before God, but his books (wherein he kept an exact Record of all the money which he received by way of mulct from Swearers, Drunkards, &c. according to the Law) and the Officers that distributed the money testifying his integrity before men; so that might truly say with *Jacob*, *Gen.30.33*. *My righteousness shall answer for me*, and so it did herein both before God and men.

Nay, he was so far from depriving the poor of their right, that he added much of his own, distributing sixpences and shillings even when he had no money in bank.

He had not onely the testimony of his own conscience, and of good men, for his upright and just dealing,

dealing, but even of such who had little goodness in them. A prophane Gentleman jeering at his heavenly discourses; another of good quality, though of little piety, replied, *Well, Gentlemen, you may laugh at him, but on my conscience, he meaneth well, and who-soever of us goeth to Heaven, shall meet Mr. Jurdain there.*

His heavenly
Conversation.

He was a man that made conscience of all the duties and exercises of Religion both in private, and in publick: His frequent discourses of Heaven, and the way thereunto, and assurance of his interest therein, did declare that his heart and conversation were much in Heaven. He used ~~also~~ take occasion to confer of spiritual, and heavenly things with all sorts of men that he conversed with. One should seldome hear him speak but of heaven and heavenly things. His heart was so full of heaven that he could not but utter, and breath it forth in his discourses with men, and especially with those whose hearts and faces were towards Heaven: When he was at Table receiving his dayly food, he did usually minister occasion of holy discourses, and diverted vain, and unprofitable talk, to such edifying speeches, as might *minister grace to the hearers*, according to that exhortation, *Eph. 4.29*. He took occasion from earthly things to speak of heavenly; as from the sweetness of the creatures, to speak of the infinite sweetness which is in God; from feasting on earth, to the sitting down with *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob* in the Kingdome of heaven, *Matth. 8.11.* and feasting with God and his blessed Saints there. And when the Table-cloath was taken away, he would often say, *In heaven there is no taking away, here we are soon satisfied,*

satisfied, and cloyed, but there will be such a feast, that we shall be continually delighting our souls with it, without any cloying. And his manner was to close his meals with singing some short Psalm.

He delighted much in reading good, and holy books, and especially that Book of books, the sacred Scriptures, wherein he most delighted, and thereby shewed that he had the property of a godly man, set down, *Psalm*. 1. 2. & 119. 97. The word of God was his meditation all the day long, yea both day and night. He did not onely read the Bible above twenty times over, but he read it with special observation (as appeareth by the *Asterisks*, and marks in the Bible which he used) making particular application to himself. The like course he took in reading over that usefull Book of Mr. Rogers his seven *Treatises*, and other practical books, wherein he was very conversant, and his collections out of several Authours do abundantly testifie. And he took so much delight in reading that voluminous and excellent Book of the *Acts and Monuments* of the Church, that upon occasion he told a Friend that he had read it seven times over.

His much
reading.

His zeal for God and his glory, and against Idolatry, prophaneness, and other evils, whereby God was highly dishonoured, was most eminent, and remarkable. He was a man of an *Anti-Laodician* temper; he had well learned the Apostles direction, *Rom.* 12. 11. To be fervent in spirit, serving the Lord, and not the time. He was far unlike *Ignatius Loiola*, the Founder of the Order of *Jesuits*, who was a man of fire that was set on fire by hell to promote the cause of the Prince of darkness; but he had an holy fire kindled in his heart from
hea-

His Zeal.

heaven, whereby he did burn with zeal for the advancement of Gods glory, and an holy indignation against sin, and errour. He would (if it had been possible) have burnt up all the dross, and filth that corrupted the Truths of God, and that was contrary to the wayes of holiness; and therein he was very like to *Ignatius* the Martyr.

His Prudence.

Neither did his zeal carry him beyond knowledge, like that of the *Jews*, *Rom. 10. 2.* when in his zeal he used often to cry out, *Fie upon discretion*; For he condemned only that counterfeit pretence of discretion, which was taken up, and pleaded against true and regular zeal: And truly if carnal discretion be set up, and cried up, like the worldlings Idol, it is the part of true Christian zeal to cry it down.

His strict observation of the Sabbath.

He was a very strict and conscientious observer and sanctifier of the Christian *Sabbath*, or Lords Day. He did then rise very early as on other dayes (if not earlier) and called upon thote in his Family to rise early on that day, saying, *This is Gods day, and as we do expect that our servants should rise early to go about our work on our dayes, so God expects our early rising on his Day, to go about his work and service.* And he used carefully to attend upon Gods holy Ordinances. The feet of them that dispenced the Gospel, were beautiful in his eyes, as *Rom. 10. 15.* more beautiful than their faces to many others. He was one of those Saints, that *sate down at Gods feet to receive his word*, *Deut. 33. 3.* as Disciples used at the feet of their Teacher, implied, *Act. 22. 3.* and he was very desirous, and willing to learn of any that came with the Lords message unto him. He was a *Mason*, an old Disciple, *Act. 21. 16.* yea a Disciple when

when he was old : It never came into his heart to cast off Ordinances , no not when he had attained to an high measure towards perfection. He was a constant writer of Sermons , even when he was old , and that, not for his own benefit alone , but for the good of his Family , to whom he did constantly repeat the Sermons. And if he found himself overtaken with drowsiness in hearing the word (an infirmity incident to age) his manner was to stand up , and to rouse up himself that he might hear the more attentively. He knew that Religion consisted not in hearing , repetition, and profession , but in practice ; and therefore his care was to digest his hearing, and knowledge into an holy conversation.

His love was so great to the Ministry of the word, and the Lords holy Ordinances , that he did intirely love , and affect all faithfull and painfull Ministers , though their gifts were but mean ; but he could not away with a lazie Minister , though he was never so learned. Where fidelity , and learning meet together in one Minister , Oh ! how highly would he reverence him.

His love to Ministers.

And being desirous not to go to Heaven alone, but to draw others with him , his usuall course was, when he went with his Family to Gods house, to make an exhortation to his children and servants, that they should consider into whose presence they were going, and whom they were to hear, even that great God, to whom they were to give an account of every word, which they should hear ; and therefore he required them carefully to store it up for their practice, and not to say , My Father, or my Master would not afford

His desire to have others saved.

me time; for if they did, he would protest against them in the day of Judgement. And as he was going to the Congregation on the week-dayes, he would often finde some of the Country people that were come early to the Market, and then would ask them where they did live, and when they answered five or six, or more miles off, he would thence take occasion to shew them how vain a thing it was to pursue the world, and to neglect the care of their precious and immortal souls; and would ask them, how they could rise so early to get the world, and not rise as early to get interest in Jesus Christ, and to attain the favour of God, and assurance of eternal happiness. And then looking back upon his Family, he would say to them, You see here how these people can rise betimes to get a little part of the world, and you will hardly rise early to get the assurance of the favour of God, which is far better than the whole world.

As he returned from Sermons, he would be speaking to them that went with him of what they had heard, exhorting them to be mindfull of it, and to put it in practice; and when one of the company was troubled, hearing him to press such things upon them, told him, that he had heard many good Sermons at St. Peters [the Cathedral] but never heard one at the great Conduit before; he presently replied, *Sirs, are ye troubled to be put in minde of the word of God? I pray God the time come not, when you are in hell, that you wish you had not onely practised the Sermons which you heard at St. Peters, but had received good counsel from the Word, at the great Conduit also.*

Thus by his diligent attending upon, and carefull

applying the means of Grace, and Gods blessing upon them, he attained a very great measure of assurance, even to a kinde ^{Plerophory}, such as the Apostle speaks of, *1 Theſſ. 1. 5. Much assurance*, and *Col. 2. 2. Full assurance of understanding*, by which he was carried as with full sails, to holy duties. And truly, if we consider the measure, continuance, and constancy of it, there are few Christians that have attained the like. Assurance was much in his tongue, and in his heart; it was that which he earnestly laboured for, and obtained by fervent prayer, and diligent use of the means. God gave him the Testimony and Seal of the Spirit, and so assured him of his eternal love in Christ, as also of his Adoption, and eternal happiness in Heaven. God gave it him as part of his reward for his sincere, and faithfull service.

His Assurance

At sometimes he had more than ordinary comforts, and incomes of the Spirit for the strengthening of his Assurance: As for instance, At a time he being at a Sermon, and attending heedfully to those discerning and differencing marks of uprightness, which were then laid down, and one mark being more powerfully pressed, and coming fully home to his condition, he being in a deep and serious meditation, and reflecting upon himself, and finding it to be truly in him, it seemed to him as if one struck him upon the shoulder, encouraging, and saying, *Be of good cheer, thou art the man*: upon which he had presently such inward joyes, and ravishings of spirit as were unexpressible.

His joy un-
speakable.

And as by diligence he obtained, so he carefully kept his assurance by frequent trial of himself, and his spiritual estate towards God, he used to try him-

How he main-
tained his As-
surance.

self by all the marks of sincerity which he found in the Scriptures, heard by the Ministry of the word, or read in the books of godly Divines, and thereby he did clear up his evidences for heaven; and he did not onely try his estate by some marks, but he kept a narrow watch over his heart and wayes, and thereby his assurance was preserved; and he kept it for a long time together, even for thirty years, and more: and being asked whether he never met with any temptations of doubting of his estate towards God, he gave this answer, That he had been, and often was sorely assaulted by Satans temptations, which were set against his Faith and Assurance, and that he had been foiled in respect of the application of some particular promises; but he was not thereby driven from his holdfast of Christ, or from the assurance of his interest in the Covenant of Grace, yet still he acknowledged that his assurance, and all his ability in spiritual things, was *through Christ that strengthened him, as Paul, Phil. 4.13.*

He stirred up
others to labour
for it.

As he had this assurance himself, so he was always forward to stir up others to labour for it; there were scarce any that he met with, if he supposed that their faces were heaven-ward, but he would be questioning with them about their assurance, blaming them if they did not diligently seek after it, and encouraging them to labour for it. And when some did ask him how they should get it, he gave them this answer, that they should importunately seek it of God, and not give him any rest till he granted it unto them; *I would (said he) lock, or bolt my Chamber door, and beg it of God, and never give him rest till I had obtained it; and then*

then he advised them that they should daily try themselves by some marks, and he often mentioned three that he used to try himself by, 1. A sincere desire to fear the name of God, as *Nehem. I. II.* 2. A sincere endeavour to do the will of God in all things required, as *Psal. 119. 6.* 3. A full purpose of heart to cleave to the Lord, as *Act. 11. 23.* and these he did not only speak of, but pressed them with much earnestness, as longing that others should partake of that high privilege, and heavenly gift with himself.

If he met with any Schollar, and such an one especially as applied himself to the study of Divinity, his usual question to such was, What evidence have you for heaven? You Schollars have the best opportunities of all men for the getting of assurance; you are still looking into Gods book, and into other good books, and should acquaint your selves with your spiritual estate towards God, and so have a greater measure of assurance than others.

The like course he took when he met with any others, as occasion was offered, or if he found none, he would take it of himself: Once when he was a Parliament man, being at *London*, and coming accidentally into the shop of an intimate acquaintance, a man of great estate and employment, and an Alderman of the City, he expressed his wondring at so great trading for the things of the world, and thereupon demanded how he could in the midst of such wordly business attend the weighty affairs of heaven? His Friend answered, that he hoped he looked after the good of his soul. Mr. Jurdaine replied, *How can you attend upon the worship of God every morning?* His

Friend answered, that though he could not attend upon it every morning, yet he failed not of it in the evening; *Well Sir, said Mr. Furdaine, I will tell you in plain tearms what I would have you to do, I would take all these goods, and throw them out into the street, and let them rather be cast away, and perish, than that they should be a means to ruine my soul unto all eternity.*

His desire of death.

From this Assurance it was that he was so fearless of Death: He knew that Death was an enemy, as the Apostle saith, *1 Cor. 15. 26.* But that through Christ, it was become a Friend to open the Gate of Heaven. Whereas Death in it self is as *Bildad* saith, *Job 18. 14. the King of Terrours*, or as the Heathen said, *Of all Terribles the most terrible*; yet he, being assured of his interest in Christ, found it not so to him; for he looked upon it as having lost its sting through Christ. Indeed, he made it so familiar to him by his continuall meditation of it, that he was so far from fearing it, that he did delight to speak of it, yea earnestly desired it, and with joy expected it, whereby he discovered his great proficiency in the School of Christ. It was his usuall saying, that if Death were offered him on the one hand, and the Kings Crown on the other, he would take the Crown, and throw it into the Kennel, and choose Death far before it: He knew that he should be a great gainer by Death, and thereby obtain the *Crown of life and glory*, *Jam. 1. 12. 1 Pet. 5. 4.* and that he feared not, but rather hoped for Death. And this was further manifested, in that when the Plague was very hot in the City of *Exeter*, and he being in the highest place of Authority there at that time, when the poor flocked about his house for relief, though he would

would not causelessly expose himself to danger, yet being in the discharge of his Duty, he feared not the infection; but often professed, that if by Gods disposing, the Plague should seize on him, he would kiss, and welcome it as the messenger of Death.

Nor was the meditation of Death then in his minde onely in times of danger, but at all times; there was not a day wherein he did not speak of it, and not onely when there was occasion offered to talk of it, but he would take occasion to discourse of that subject: As when he was invited to a Feast, he would tell the messenger that he would come if he did live so long: And when he went out of his house upon publick or private businesses, he would (as it were) take a solemn leave of his wife, telling her, that he knew not whether he should return to his house again.

Yet did he not so much desire Death as to undervalue the blessing of life, or to neglect the means for the preservation of it; for he acknowledged it to be a great blessing, and he was willing to live as long as the longest lived man, if it were Gods good pleasure, and if he might do him service. And when he was sick, or in any danger, he would carefully make use of the means, that he might thereby serve Gods good providence for his recovery or deliverance, saying, that though he must trust in God, yet he must not tempt him by seeming to trust in him.

His minde was not so much upon Earth, and Death, as upon Heaven, to which he was assured Death would be a passage for him: Sure his heart was much upon Heaven, or Heaven was much in his heart, as appeared by his frequent discourse of it both day and

Yet carefull
of life.

His heavenli-
mindedness.

and night; and our Saviour Christ tells us, *Mat. 12. 34. That out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speak^s.* All that knew him, and looked upon him without a prejudiced eye, would say, that he was a most heavenly minded man; a man that lived in Heaven as much as most that lived upon earth. When in the night he looked upon those glistering lights of Heaven, *Ezek. 32. 8.* the Firmament adorned with those Stars of light, *Psal. 148. 3.* he used to raise up his thoughts and speech much higher, even to the glory of the highest Heaven, saying, *If these visible Heavens be so glorious, how doth the Heaven above them exceed in glory, where God alone shall be the light, and yet the Righteous shall shine forth as the Sun in the Kingdome of their Father,* *Mat. 13. 43.* There was scarce any occasion administred, or any special act of Gods providence that did occur, but it would draw out some speech of Heaven from him; as when any cross, or loss befell him in his affairs, he would say no more, but, *Heaven will pay for all.* And when in a journey he fell from his horse, and lay for a while in a swoon, as soon as he recovered, his first words were, *Well, I see that I am now deceived, I thought that my horse would have cast me into Heaven.*

These are some few heads of the breathings of his piety, to which much more might be added; and truly they which knew him will marvell, not that so much is said of him, but rather that there is so little.

His Justice.

He was as eminent for Justice as for Piety, when he was advanced to the chiefeſt place of Government in that City, to be Mayor of that honourable Corporation: He was an eminent Magistrate, and that not
only

only in the year of his Majoralty; but ever after as long as he lived. He looked upon it, not as a place of honour onely, but as an office of trust, wherein he might honour God, and execute justice amongst men, and reform those evils which abounded in those times in that place: He did not glory so much in having the Sword carried before him (though it was a singular badge of honour to that City, that the Kings sword should be taken from his side, and delivered to the Mayor to be carried before him, as a signall testimony of his favour, and their loyalty, and courage in the insurrection of *Perkin Warbeck*) as he was desirous to draw forth the sword of Justice against evil doers, and not to carry it in vain, *Rom. 13.4.*

He was observed to be an impartial Administrator of Justice, and one that without respect of persons did punish evill doers, of what quality, or condition soever they were that did transgress the Law, whether they were Citizens or strangers that came thither, if complaint were made to him, they should not escape condign punishment, as the Laws of the Land, or custome of the place did award. As for instance.

There was a Gentleman of quality that was complained of to him for swearing five Oaths, and for some other misdemeanours: Mr. *Jurdaine* thereupon sent a Constable with a Warrant to fetch him before him: but the Gentleman gave the Constable threatening language, so that he durst not execute his Office: Whereupon Mr. *Jurdaine* sent one Constable more for him, who brought the Gentleman before him: And he being in his Court when he came, after divers good admonitions given him, he told him, that

His Impartiality.

Examples of it.

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though

though he was never so great a Gentleman, he could no more go to Heaven whilst he took such courses, than he could eat that stone (pointing to a great stone in his Court) and then required him to pay five shillings for his Oaths, which he did: Then he told him that he must put in sureties for the good behaviour: This the Gentleman refused to do, alleading that he was a stranger: Whereupon Mr. *Furdaime* commanded the Constables to carry him away to prison till he would find sureties, which accordingly they did; and as he was going into the prison door, he desired that he might return back again, and he would give Bail: When he came to Mr. *Furdaime* to do it, he again gave him many good instructions, and the Gentleman (though he was a man of a very high spirit) gave him many hearty thanks for his good counsell, and promised amendment for the time to come.

The Master of *Bridewell* could witness how many disorderly persons were sent thither by Mr. *Furdaime's* Warrants, more than by any other Justices in his time.

The Stocks, and Whipping-post could testify what swearers, drunkards, unclean persons, and such like notorious offenders were punished, principally by his indifferent execution of justice. And if any of the offenders that were liable to the censure, and penalty of the Law, desired to be spared, he would tell them; *Here be my children whom I dearly love, and yet if any of them should commit such offences, they should suffer as you must do: and therefore I cannot remit of the penalty of the Law.*

What excuses, or fair pretences soever they made,
he

he caused the Law to be executed upon them; yea and that the more severely, because of the greatness of the crime, and the greater dishonour that redounded to the Name of the most high God thereby.

When some scandalous offenders, for the gross sin of uncleanness were accused, and questioned before the Court, and some present (for by-respects) pleaded for them, desiring to have them spared, he wished the Watchmen that were at the Gates to keep out the Plague (it being a time wherein some neighbour-Towns were infected) should be called home: For (saith he) *the Plague is in the Guild-Hall of the City*: Adding further, that if they did not execute the Law upon them, he would complain of them to the Council Table: And thereupon, after much contest, there was Order taken for their severe, and just punishment.

He was ever very vigilant, especially in the year of his Mayoralty, when the government of the City lay upon him, both to prevent, and remove disorders: Insomuch as he would go himself with the Constables to search for idle, and disorderly persons on *Sabbath* dayes at night, and at the end of the Assizes, and Sessions, and in Fair weeks, &c.

Yea, he did not only execute justice, but he shewed himself zealous therein, manifesting the greatest indignation against those evils whereby God was most highly dishonoured, as swearing, and Sabbath-breaking. Indeed swearing was most odious unto him, and had there been a greater penalty than was at that time appointed by the Law of the Land, he would most readily have inflicted it. But by his punishing as ma-

A great reformation wrought by him.

ny as were brought before him, it struck such an awe into the generality, as that some that lived at that time in the City, and near the place of the greatest concourse of people, the Corn-market, observed that they did not hear an Oath sworn for many years together.

He did not only maintain his zeal against swearing, and swearers of the ordinary sort, and rank of men, but even of the highest that came within the verge of his authority. As for example;

His Courage.

A Gentleman of great quality, and much favoured at Court, was heard to swear five or six times in the City. Mr. *Furdaine* having notice of it, sent some Constables to demand the penalty for swearing. The Gentleman was of an high spirit, and at this time accompanied with the chieftest of the County of *Devonshire*, and there were divers hot spirits about him. The Constables pressed towards the room where he was, saying, that Mr. *Furdaine* had sent them to demand the aforementioned penalty: and it was like to have broken forth into a great, and dangerous contest; but a prudent Gentleman, of a more moderate temper, and one that feared an Oath, stepped forth to them, and told the Constables that this Gentleman was of an high, and impatient spirit, and had great company about him: I fear therefore (said he) that the event may be of sad consequence if you pursue your intentions at this time; yet the Constables seemed unwilling to depart till they had what they came for; the Gentleman seeing this, said, I will now pay the six shillings to you for him, and I promise you faithfully that I will take a convenient time to admonish

monish the Knight when it ~~shall~~ do him more good than the rigorous exaction of the ~~penalty~~ of the Law can at this time, and so they departed.

It is credibly related that Mr. *Jurdaine* being summoned to appear in the *Star-chamber*, for an act of Justice, wherein it was supposed that he went somewhat beyond the strict letter of the Law, being there in the presence of some of his Judges, who were Noble men, and hearing them to swear divers Oaths, he told them, that they must pay for every oath that they had sworn, or otherwise he would make it farther known.

When he was Mayor of *Exeter*, he did much reform the open prophanation of the *Sabbaths*. For whereas the Hullers had wont to set their Mills agoing on the *Sabbaths*, he put a stop upon them for that whole day, knowing that that whole day was to be dedicated to God, and his worship, and service; and whereas it was usuall to sell fruit and herbs, and other things on the Lords holy day; as also Bowling, Cudgelpaying, and other prophane pastimes were then much used, by his zeal and vigilancy, and by the care of other Officers under him, they were wholly left off, though not without much reluctancy, opposition, and some danger at the first; for there were commotions and tumults, and great resistance made against him; but by his constant zeal for God, and his day, and Gods blessing upon the same, they were at last suppressed and quelled.

He reforms
the prophana-
tion of the
Sabbath.

And not onely when he was Mayor, but ever after, being a Justice of Peace, in which Office he continued for twenty and four years, he was much taken up in

the execution of Justice, yea sometimes for the whole day from morning till night: So that he did not onely execute Judgement in the morning, as *Jer. 21. 12.* after he had been with God in the Mount of heavenly meditation, but all the day long, as *Moses* sate to judge the people, and the people stood before *Moses* from the morning untill the evening, *Exod. 18. 13.*

His zeal, and
courage.

And when he was out of power as a Justice, he discovered his zeal as a Christian, against prophane swearing, and for the strict observation of the *Sabbath*, wherein there is a remarkable instance of both at once; and it was this, *Mr. Furdaine* returning from the Parliament in the company of a person of Honour, he was invited by him to stay at his house that night, being *Saturday*, and the *Sabbath* following, he (having observed that Noble personage to swear, as they travelled together) told him, that he would not go into his house, for that he was a Swearer, and he feared that the house would fall upon his head: Answer was returned, that he need not fear that, for the house was newly built, a fair, and strong house: To this he replied, yea but the flying Rowl of Curses shall enter into the house of Swearers, and shall consume the timber, and stones of it. But to obtain his company, the Lord pressed the inconveniencies of his lodging in an Inne on the *Sabbath* day: *Mr. Furdaine* replied, *But I will never go into your house, unless you will engage your self, that no Oath shall be sworn, nor cursing uttered by young, your Lady, nor none of your servants or Family:* This was faithfully promised; *Yea but then* (said *Mr. Furdaine*) *how shall the Sabbath be kept?* the answer was, That he should have an honest Sermon

in

in the forenoon. *And what in the afternoon,* said he? *Except we shall have a good Sermon in the afternoon also, I will not go in.* That likewise was granted, and (as it is said) all was faithfully performed.

He was not for judgement only, but for mercy also: and he shewed mercy to the souls of them that were brought before him, as transgressors of the Law, and to be punished according to their demerits: For he would labour to convince them of the hainousness of their offences, that so he might bring them to a sight of their sins, and to repentance for the same.

His mercy to
souls.

He did much encourage the Officers under him to a diligent, and faithfull discharge of their duty: and indeed they stood in much need of it, meeting with many discouragements from some others: and when he found them somewhat backward through timorousness, or other by-respects, to execute his Warrants upon persons of high place, he would exhort them to be active, and forward in doing their duty, telling them, In good earnest (for that was his usuall word) that if he had as good a Warrant from God, as they had from him to apprehend offenders, if he were required to apprehend the Devil himself, he would not be backward to put it in execution.

His zeal was not only in distributive justice as a Magistrate: but he was conscientiously carefull as a Christian, in commutative justice, in his commerce, and dealings with men, wherein he made the Word the rule of his practice: and if he found at any time that he had swerved from that rule, he would retract it, that so neither his own conscience, nor other men

His justice.

might

might reproach him for walking disorderly, and besides the rule: and that appeared, not only by his avoiding all usurious Contracts, but also in making restitution of all that had been gotten thereby.

He restores
Use-money.

He had sometimes taken usury for Money lent to a person about *Lime*, which he had received for divers years: for at that time he held it lawfull, by reason of the practice which he had observed in some forreign States, and the concurrent judgements of some Divines of note, who spake in favour thereof: but upon his perusall of the Writings of other godly Divines of our Nation, and by conference with some worthy Ministers of his acquaintance, he was so convinced of the unlawfullness of usury, that he did not only forbear the practice of it for the future, but restored the interest formerly taken: and took no more for the loan of Money, than the party borrowing would voluntarily give him.

He did much bewail the common course of too many, who sin against God, both in getting, and spending their worldly estates. For (said he) as they get it unjustly, and by indirect means, so for the most part, they spend it leudly, and lavishly in satisfying their sinfull lusts.

His Charity.

Neither was he more famous for justice, than he was for charity, and that both in his life, and at his death: In his life-time he was a free-hearted man, and open-handed. He was a great patron of the poor: Another *Job* in that respect: He could truly say with him, as *Job* 30. 25. *Was not my soul grieved for the poor?* No doubt it was; and the bowels of his compassion did yearn towards them: He was an Advocate,

and

and did earnestly plead for them, and especially for Gods poor, honest poor persons, whose hearts, and faces were set Godward, and Heavenward, and his hands were very open to relieve them: He did that for them, which many of far greater estates had not hearts to do.

He would often say, that he wondered what rich men meant, that they gave so little to the poor, and raked so much together for their children. *Do you not see* (quoth he) *what becomes of it?* and would reckon up divers examples of such as heaped up much for their children, and they, within a short time had scattered, and consumed all: and on the other side, he often spake of such as had small beginnings, and afterwards became rich, or of a competent estate: giving a particular instance in himself: *I came* (said he) *but with a groat, or six pence in my purse to this City: had I had a shilling in my purse, I had never been Mayor of Exeter. And therefore leave children but a little, and they (by Gods blessing on their labour, and industry) may become rich: But leave them a great deal, and they are in danger to be beggars.*

His care for the poor was most remarkable in the time of the great Plague in that City, which was *anno Christi 1625*. For in the Maiors absence he was chosen his Lieutenant, or Deputy, and he, seeing the deplorable condition of the City, accepted of it, and then he wrote divers Letters to many Towns in *Devonshire*, and to some in *Dorset*, and *Somersetshire*, by which meanes he procured severall summes of Monneys, for the suppliall of the wants of the many hundreds of poor, that at that time were in a very distressed

sed estate : One that was an eye-witnes related, that he had seen morning after morning coming to his door, sometimes thirty, sometimes forty, yea fifty, or sixty, or more, wringing their hands, some crying that their husbands were dead : Others that their wives were dead : Others that their children were dead, and that they had not any thing wherewithall to bury them. Some again cried that their Families were sick, and they had not wherewithall to relieve them. Others that they had divers children, but they neither had bread, nor Money to buy it for them. Some cried for bread : Some for Physick : Others for Shroudes for their dead : and he not only heard them patiently ; but his bowels yearned towards them, and his hands were stretched out for their relief. For, standing within his own Shop, with his own hands, he ministred supplies unto them all, and so dismissed them for the present. And the next morning when there was a renewall of their sad complaints, his charitable care of them was renewed also : and thus he continued morning by morning, even for the space of near three moneths, till the return of the Mayor into the City.

Besides his great care of supplying the wants of such poor as came unto him, he had a speciall respect to poor House-keepers, and Tradesmen, such as were ashamed, and unwilling to make their sad, and necessitous condition known, and a peculiar care of the godly poor, concerning whom he used to advise with the Constables, and Churchwardens of every Parish, and according to their need, would proportion some relief, and help unto them, and send it by the hands of

of the said Constables, or Churchwardens.

And his care for the poor was not only in that extraordinary season (as their exigents did require) but so long as he continued in the land of the living : And he was so constantly exercised in this great work of charity, that he did it, as it were, naturally : as the Apostle speaks of *Timothy*, Phil. 2. 20.

But though he did well, yet heard he ill even for this, and by some it was cast in his teeth, that he made beggars : and when he was asked by a man of place, and estate, what he would give to keep the poor from begging : (supposing that he would not be so forward therein, as he was in relieving them) he freely offered a great part of his estate, upon condition that the other would do the like : But when he saw his forwardness, the other pulled back his shoulder, and would not joyn with him therein.

He was given much to hospitality : He would not eat his morsels alone by himself, as *Job* 31. 17. He well remembred the Apostles direction, *Heb.* 13. 2. *Be not forgetfull to entertain strangers.* He was most loving, and friendly to them, and especially to such as did suffer for conscience sake : As those godly Ministers who were silenced for *Non-Conformity* (although his own judgement was well satisfied in that point.) To him they did continually resort, and by him they were kindly entertained : Insomuch as by the profaner sort, he was cried out on as an *Arch-Puritan* : But by those that took Religion to heart, he was honoured with the title of *Gains mine Hoste*, and of the whole Church, as *Rom.* 16 23.

His hospitality.

If we consider his last Will, and Testament, we

shall find in it very great and unparalleled acts of charity : As he gave one third part of his temporall estate to his wife, and another third part to his children, according to the custome of the City, so out of the other third part, he left very large Legacies, especially to the poor.

We will here omit many Legacies given to Ministers, and others, and point only at some that were more remarkeable ; and take them in his own words in his *Will* ; *First I give to all the poor of this City, and County: that receive pay of Parishes, and also to those that dwell in Almes-houses, I give five shillings to each, to be paid at my Buriall. I give to one hundred more poor people ten shillings to each, to be given to such as my Overseers shall think to have most need, the honest poor to be chiefly looked unto. Also I give to the poor of Lime, where I was born, and to the poor of Garnsey, where I was new born, five pounds to each place. Also I forgive all the Moneys owing to me, if it be under the value of twenty shillings to each. (These smaller summes which he had lent to the poor were very many :) Also my Will is, and I give now more to fifty poor people of this City, and County, twenty shillings to each, by my Overseers, or the major part of them.* Thus out of that estate which God had given him, he gave again by way of gratitude to God, viz. to the poor, who are Gods receivers. God gave him, and left him a competent estate (after his many, and great losses) and which is more, he gave him an heart to honour him with his substance, Prov. 3. 9. and to lay it forth as became a faithfull Steward, in the service, and for the honour of his Lord, who had intrusted him with it.

It's

It's true, some did wonder, and others did sharply censure him for his extraordinary charity, and liberality, and especially for that he left no greater a part of his estate to his wife: But this may be said in his defence: That the strait, and close hearts of others, are no fit pattern to measure his large heart by. And besides, God had opened his hand in giving very liberally unto him blessings, both spirituall, and temporall, and especially spirituall, even the graces, and comforts of his Spirit: and he enjoying such sweet communion with God even above most other men, what marvel is it if he did more for God than other men use to do? And as for his wife, as he left her the third part of his estate, so likewise he made her Executrix of his *Will*, and thereby much more had come to her than there did, had not some Debts (which he accounted good) failed and come short both of his, and her expectation: Besides, he did assure himself, that her Brother, who was then living, and a man of great estate, would be ready to supply any of her wants.

Thus we have heard what Mr. *Jurdaine* did for God: In the next place let us see also what God did for him. Besides all those graces, which were eminently in him, and whereby he was enabled to act so zealously, and vigorously for God, which all were Gods free gift: and that comfortable assurance that he had, which was part of his reward: The Lord also advanced him from a mean, and low estate, to the highest place of honour, and dignity in that City. His beginnings were but small, as appears by his answer to some that threatened to follow him with Suits, and

How God honoured him.

not to give over till they had not left him worth a groat: To whom he chearfully replied: That he should be then but two pence poorer than when he came first to *Exeter*: For (said he) *I brought but six pence with me hither*; and yet, through Gods blessing on his labours, he gat a competent, and comfortable estate, whereby he maintained a large Family of children, and servants; kept hospitality: was liberall to the poor, and open-handed to any pious use, even far beyond many who yet had larger estates. But when he had the greatest temporall estate, he set no great estimate upon these fading, perishing things: He set them not up in his heart (as worldlings use to do) but trod them under his feet: And usually also he set them very low in his ordinary discourse of them, and especially when he was speaking of Heaven, and heavenly things. And yet he did not forget to acknowledge Gods goodness in bestowing any of these outward things upon him. He found by experience that they were but *uncertain riches*, 1 Tim. 6. 17. And that they had *wings, and would fly away*, Prov. 23. 5. But he did not run crying after them, as they use to do who set their hearts upon them: whereas he saw, and acknowledged Gods hand as well in taking away, as in giving: as *Job* did, *Job* 1. 21. and therefore was quiet, and content, having experimentally learned, in some good measure, that excellent lesson with *St Paul*: *I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content*, Phil. 4. 11. By vicissitudes, and changes of estates, God did exercise his faith, patience, and contentation.

Having passed through the severall inferior Offices,

ces, he at last ascended to the highest place of honour in the City, to be Mayor there, wherein (as hath been shewed) he demeaned himself as became a Christian Magistrate, and his ambition therein was highly to honour God, who had thus honoured him. And afterwards he was twice chosen to be a Burgess of Parliament, wherein his zeal for God, and against the corruptions of the times, was abundantly manifested. He was a great stickler to have the Bill passed for the punishment of Adultery with death: but those times would not bear it: Surely some of the Lawmakers knew some speciall reason for it.

He is chosen Mayor, and Burgess of Parliament.

When he made a motion for the passing of that Bill; one, or more of the Members in the House, cried out, Commit it Mr. *Furdain*, commit it; upon which a great laughter was occasioned; whereupon he presently said unto them (in a zealous manner like himself) *Do you laugh when a man speaks for Gods honour, and glory?* Upon which there was a more than ordinary silence in the House. The Bill was at that time laid aside, but in a following Parliament, it was called upon by the name of Mr. *Furdains* Bill. He was also (as it's said) the first man that promoted the Bills for the more strict sanctification of the *Sabbaths*, and against Swearing.

His courage.

Yea, God did not only advance him to places of honour, and dignity in the eye of the world: but gave him an high place also in the hearts of his people; and therein God made good his promise, 1 Sam. 2. 30. *Such as honour me, I will honour.* His name was very precious in the esteem of those that knew his worth, both whilest he lived, and since his death.

Indeed

He is reproached by the wicked.

Indeed it is confessed that he was a by-word unto many, and that his name was taken up by way of reproach, but it was by such as were upbraided, and reproved by his holy, and gracious conversation: And he valued not their reproaches, knowing that his Lord and Master did suffer much more in this kind, and that this was but a Chip of that Cross, which, as he was commanded, he was willing to bear: Yea he was well content to drink of this bitter Cup after his Master, and with him, he *despised the shame*, Heb. 12. 2. which the men of the world cast upon him: Nay, he accounted it his honour to suffer shame for the Name of Christ, as the Apostles did, *Act. 5. 4.* But some there were that brought shame upon themselves, whilst they thought to cast contempt, and scorn upon him. Amongst other instances, this one was remarkeable: That being chosen Burgeſſ for the Parliament, not without much opposition, and going up to *London* to clear the Election, at which time there was an accusation sent up against him by a man of no mean place, and power, That he was the Host of the *Schismaticks*: Whereupon some presumed that he would have been sent back with disgrace: and accordingly there was a Sermon prepared by one to jeer him at his return; this being his Text, *Pſal. 114. 5. What ailed thee—thou Jordan that thou wast driven back?* Thus men of prophane spirits will dare to make the sacred Word of God to serve their own base lusts and ends. But Mr. *Furdaine*, instead of being driven back, was confirmed in the place to which he was chosen, and so shame was cast into the face of this wicked scorner. and his Sermon, or Inveective rather, proved abortive.

And

And as Mr. *Jurdaine* stood up boldly for God, so did God stand by, and for him, and assisted him, and carried him through many troubles, and dangers that did threaten, and even compass him about. One act of Gods providence, amongst many others, was most notable, in delivering him out of trouble. He having done an act of justice (as was hinted before) in punishing an unclean person, whose offence was aggravated by some hainous circumstances, being moved with an holy indignation against the offence, he went (as it seems) besides the letter of the Law in some circumstance: Whereupon some friends of the person punished (being stirred up with fury for the disgrace that reflected upon them, without weighing the dishonour that was done to God, and the foul blot that was cast upon Religion) resolved to prosecute him to the uttermost for it, wherein they put him to great charge, and trouble, by prosecuting him in the *Star-Chamber*: and when the cause was to come to a finall determination, it was much feared by many of his friends, and through the boastings of his adversaries, that some heavy censure would have passed upon him, to his crushing, if not to his utter undoing. But when his friends on earth failed, he flees to Heaven for succour, and defence, and cried unto God in *Dauids* words, *Psal. 22. 11, 19. Be not far from me, O Lord, for trouble is near: for there is none to help: O my strength, hast thou to help me.* And he set apart the evening, and a great part of the night, by fasting, and Prayer, to engage God of his side, who hath the hearts of all men, even of the greatest in his hands, to turn them as he pleaseth, *Prov. 21. 1.* And be-

The power of
Prayer.

hold, the next morning he received a reall, and gracious answer from Heaven, being not only acquitted, but commended by the Lord Keeper, God stirring up the hearts of divers in that high, and arbitrary Court, to speak for him. Thus the Lord was a *very present help* to him in the time of trouble, *Psalm* 46. 1.

His Prudence.

After he was thus (through Gods mercy) freed, and returned to his house, he piled up the Books, and Papers of all the proceedings in that troublesome, and vexatious business, under his Cupboard in his Parlour, which was the place to which he did often resort, and where he had that daily sweet, and heavenly communion with God aforementioned; and being asked the reason why he left so many Books, and Papers to lie in that manner? His answer was; These I keep in my sight as memorials, and monuments of Gods mercy in freeing me from my troubles.

Many other particulars might be instanced in: but by that little which hath been said, you may guess at the great worth of this holy man. Only give me leave to adde the observations, and testimony of Mr. *Thomas Manton*, who knew him well, who speaks thus of him:

“ Mr. *Ignatius Furdaine* may in some sense be stiled
 “ the wonder, and *Phoenix* of his age, and place of
 “ abode: concerning whose piety, and frequent communion with God, his constant heavenliness, his charity in giving, lending, and entertaining: his doing
 “ justice with impartiality, and diligence, we have all
 “ ready heard: and therefore give me leave only to
 “ suggest a few other passages, and observations.

“ 1. That

“ 1. That for his temper, he was a man of a raised
“ zeal, and *heroicall* spirit, one of those rare examples
“ which the Lord giveth the world now and then,
“ and therefore his actions are not to be measured by
“ an ordinary standard.

“ 2. Seldome or never did any come into his com-
“ pany, but he would discourse with them about holy
“ things, asking the younger sort, how they did hope
“ to be saved? The more grown, if they professed
“ Religion, whether they had any assurance? which
“ if they denied, he would tell them, that he was
“ even ashamed of them. In good earnest (would
“ he say) I would study the Promises, and go into
“ my Closet, and lock the door, and there plead
“ them to God, and say, that I would not go forth
“ till he gave me some sense of his love.

“ 3. His entertainment at his Table was free, and
“ sufficient, but frugall, and sober: If his Wife at
“ any time excused the slenderness of it, he would
“ say, *Brown bread, and Kennel water is good fare*
“ *with the Gospel*. I have oft heard him say so:
“ There is somewhat a like saying of Mr. *Greenhams*,
“ and possibly Mr. *Jurdaine* might borrow it thence,
“ it suiting so well with the temper of his spirit.

“ 4. A formall man had once preached a Sermon
“ at the *Cathedrall*, about Heaven: the discourse was
“ for the most part frothy, and beneath the dignity,
“ and worth of such an Argument. Mr. *Jurdaine* was
“ present as well as my self: After Sermon I went to
“ his house (being to receive a Letter from him to
“ *Oxford*) and after many good instructions, he asked
“ me, if I had been at the Sermon that morning? I

"told him, yea. *And did you (said he) hear those*
 "*wonderfull things which God hath provided for them*
 "*that love him?* And so he readily picked out all
 "those passages which were any way subservient to
 "use, and profit. It was wonderfull to me to see
 "how an holy heart could draw comfort out of any
 "thing. The Sermon as Mr. *Furdaine* repeated to
 "me, was another kind of Sermon, and seemed to
 "be savoury, and spirituall. I remember with what
 "warmth, and vigour he spake of it, even till this
 "day, and hope that I shall never forget it.

"5. This is not to be forgotten, his sending a Let-
 "ter to the late King, and expostulating with him
 "about setting forth the *Book* concerning *sports, and*
 "*recreations* on the Lords dayes, which was inclosed
 "in another to the Bishop of *Exeter*, to desire him to
 "convey it: and notice being given to the Bishop that
 "Copies of it were divulged (possibly by the Tran-
 "scriber) he thought he could not conceal it with safe-
 "ty, and therefore carried it to the King, who when
 "he had read it, in a great anger said, He would hang
 "him. But the Bishop (a pious man) fell upon his
 "knees, and besought his Majesties pardon, alleadg-
 "ing, *That God had not a better servant, nor his Ma-*
 "*jesty a better Subject in the whole Land.* When the
 "Bishop returned from his moneths attendance,
 "Mr. *Furdaine* went to visit him, and after civilities
 "past, the Bishop said, *Ah, Mr. Furdaine, would you*
 "*put me upon so hot a service? You know there are*
 "*many eyes upon me* (meaning the Archbishops
 "party, who suspected him as a favourer of *Puritans*)
 "Yea, my Lord (said Mr. *Furdaine*) there are eyes
 "upon

“ upon you, the eyes of God, and his holy Angels, to
 “ see how you discharge your duty, and office as the
 “ Kings Chaplain, and Bishop of the Church.

“ 6. Now and then, when he had leasure, he
 “ would usually go to his neighbours shops, and ad-
 “ monish them to take heed that the cares of the world
 “ did not deaden their spirits to heavenly things, tel-
 “ ling them, if they had many thousands it would not
 “ still the cty of conscience, purchase the least favour
 “ from God, nor so much as ease the pain of the teeth,
 “ or keep off one fit of an Ague; yea, if money
 “ were thrown to the Dogs, they would not so much
 “ as smell at it.

“ 7. He would often perswade his Fellow-Magi-
 “ strates to a liberal provision for the poor; and when
 “ they would ask him, where they should have money?
 “ He would answer, God will provide, rather than the
 “ poor shall want, let us sell our Gowns.

“ 8. When he did distribute money to the poor
 “ with his own hands in a time of great infection, and
 “ some asked him if he were not afraid of the
 “ Plague? *What (said he) afraid of Gods Visitation?*
 “ *Let us fear rather the Plague-sore of our owne*
 “ *hearts.*

“ 9. In his troubles in the Star-chamber, when
 “ one told him, he was sorry that the Lord Keeper
 “ was against him: He answered, *I have a greater*
 “ *Lord Keeper than him: The Lord is my Keeper, I*
 “ *shall not be afraid.*

“ 10. It is not amiss to set down what others
 “ thought of him: I remember a godly man obser-
 “ ved him, that in every business (though he adven-
 “ tured

“far) the Lord carried him through with reputation,
 “and so compared him with another of great parts,
 “who, though godly, was alwayes toiled in every
 “undertaking. Drunkards, and frequenters of Ale-
 “houses, were afraid of him: He was their usual
 “*Bugbear*; their *memento* in the middle of their ex-
 “cels was, Its time to be gone, Mr. *Furdaine* will
 “come by and by.

“The ordinary sort of men were convinced of his
 “integrity, insomuch as carnal and vicious men at a
 “time of election of *Burgeses* for Parliament would
 “say one to another, If you choose any, choose *Fur-*
 “*daine*, he will be right for the Commonwealth, and
 “will do the City service. He was twice chosen *Bur-*
 “*ges* for the Parliament, and once *Mayor* of the City,
 “and once *Deputy Mayor* in a time of great Infection
 “by the Pestilence.

“The Reverend Minister that preached his Funeral
 “Sermon, amongst others, had this expression:
 “Look upon his *Will*, and you will think him the
 “richest man in the City. Though many exceeded
 “him in estate, but few or none in making provision
 “for the poor. Delinquents seldome went from him
 “without conviction. A Noble mans servant that
 “had scorned him, being brought before him, and
 “convicted for having sworn rashly three times,
 “Mr. *Furdaine* demanded his Fine, and shewed him
 “the hainousness of the sin, with which the man was
 “calmed, and though he came from his companions
 “braving, yet he returned with the acknowledgement
 “that he was a good Justicer; and when they
 “asked him, what *Furdaine* did to him, he an-
 “swered,

“ swered, He gave me good Law, and fair words.

I have heard above thirty years ago, that some godly persons in *Exeter* were convented before the Bishops Court for keeping some private dayes of Humiliation; whereupon Mr. *Jurdaine* went to the Bishop (who was a godly man) to intercede for them. The Bishop told him that such Conventicles were forbidden by the Law, the State being jealous lest the seeds of Sedition or Heresie might be sown in them: To whom Mr. *Jurdaine* replied, *My Lord, Do you think that the Lord Jesus Christ, when he comes to Judgement, will say concerning these, and such like poor Christians, Take them Devil, take them, because though they sought me by fasting and prayer, yet they did not observe every circumstance with so much prudence as they might have done.* Whereupon the Bishop dismissed them.

I am now come to the last act of his Life, his sickness, and the period of that, his Death. In his sickness, which was very painfull, he being sorely afflicted with the Stone, and Cholick, yet did he manifest more than ordinary patience, not opening his mouth in any word that might savour of repining, or discontent at his present condition; but meekly and patiently submitting to Gods afflicting hand, and waiting for his long-expected, and much desired dissolution. He did then much act faith in Jesus Christ, and his gracious Promises, and his assurance remained unshaken, though Satan was then busie with him by his temptations: But being *strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might*, he did resist him. Some of his nearest Friends that observed his confident Assurance in the course of his

His Sickness.

His Patience.

his life, and of his happy estate in heaven after death, did suppose that Satan would have set upon him with so much violence, as to have shaken his Assurance, as no doubt he had will enough to do; but God who had him in chains, would not permit him to do it: But he went out of the world as a Conquerour out of the Field, being, through Christ, victorious over all his spiritual enemies. One particular in his sickness may not be omitted, which was, his taking all occasions of exhorting and encouraging others to constancy in the faith, zeal for God, and making sure of Heaven; and when his spirits began to fail him, he would say, *I cannot speak much more to you now; Remember what you have heard from me in my health.* He was willing also to incite others that were absent to the discharge of their Duties. The Mayor of the City that then was, sending to see how he did, he called the messenger unto him, and said, *Remember me to Mr. Mayor, and tell him from me, that he have a special care of these three things: To do Justice: To provide carefully for the poor; and to make sure of Heaven.* His gracious speeches in the time of his sickness, were many, and more than can be here expressed.

His death.

Having fought the good fight of Faith, and finished his course, he sweetly, and quietly resigned up his soul into the hands of his blessed Saviour and Redeemer. He departed this Life, *July the 15. Anno Christi 1640.* being the *Sabbath* day.

The *Sabbath* was his delight on earth, and on that day God gave him to enjoy an eternal *Sabbath* with him in Heaven. As he had sweet communion with God in the use of Ordinances for many years on that day

day, so he went to enjoy an immediate communion with God on that holy day; and after all his labours he entred into rest, even that glorious *Rest* in Heaven, *Heb.4.11*. His departure hence was in the Seventy ninth year of his age, and, according to his account for the New-birth, in the Sixty fifth year. For so long he reckoned since the time of his effectual Calling. At the celebration of his Funerals, there hath not been known any man to be more lamented than was he, the loss being so great, not to the City alone, but to all those *Western* parts, the influence of his example, as a zealous Magistrate and Christian, reaching far and near.

His Funeral.

After he had served his own Generation by the will of God, he fell on sleep, Act. 13.36.

The Life, and Death of Mrs.
Margaret Ducke, who dyed
Anno Christi 1646.

Her Parentage

THe Father of Mrs. *Margaret Ducke* was Mr. *Henry Southworth*, a Gentleman of a good Family: Her Mother was a vertuous and Religious Matron. He was a Merchant and Customer of *London*, by which means having acquired a plentiful estate, he contented himself with it, and withdrew from thence to a more quiet, and retired (that is a more happy) life at *Wells*, where he lived plentifully, and having onely two Daughters, his Co-heirs, he gave them liberal, and pious education in all those wayes which commend, and accomplish well-bred Gentlewomen.

Her Marriage.

This Gentlewoman, who was the younger of his Daughters, was deservedly dear to both her Parents, and lived with them till their deaths, which fell out to be shortly one after another: For as they were lovely and pleasant in their lives (if I may so use the words of *Dauids* lamentation over *Saul* and *Jonathan*, 2 Sam. I.) so in their Deaths they were not divided. She was then about the one and twentieth year of her age, at which time she was desired in marriage by many younger in years, and higher in means and lands than the Gentleman was, unto whom (with her great contentment even to her dying day) she yeilded herself, and her affections, resolving (as the vertuous

Mar-

Marcella in *St. Ferom* answered her young *Woer*, *Cerealis*, who was of a Noble, and *Consular* race; *Sin- bere vellem, uique maritum quarerem, non hereditatem*) that when she married, she would marry an Husband, not an estate, though yet God had blessed her Husband with a competency of these outward things.

Their Marriage was celebrated by that incomparable, and (even in this age) famous Prelate, Bishop *Lake*, in the City of *Wells* (who never married any persons besides themselves) where, for some years they lived together, and the Town to this day gives an ample testimony to their piety and charity. For her part, they say, as *Gregory Nyssen* said of *Placilla*, that if she prevented him not in any work of charity, yet she was sure to concur with him therein; and when she departed from thence, they soon complained, and lamented the want of her charity. The blinde complained that they wanted an eye, the lame a staffe, the mourners one to comfort them, the languishing one to visit them, as *St. Ferom* said of *Nepotian*. For indeed, she was eyes to the blinde, feet to the lame; she was a mother to the poor and distressed, and to those who had nothing to help them; *The blessing of those* (as *Job* saith of himself) *that were ready to perish came upon her, and she caused the widows heart to sing for joy.*

From *Wells* they removed to *Blackfriars* in *London*, where she lived long under the powerful Ministry of the thrice worthy and learned *Dr. Gouge*, a man, famous for his pains in the Church of Christ. What her Life, Faith, Charity, Patience was, during her

Her removed
to *Blackfriars*.

abode there, was well known to all in general, and particularly observed by that Reverend Doctor, and abundantly testified at her Funerals by him, so that nothing needs to be added to his full, and faithful testimony. One thing was well observed by him, and is very remarkable, that notwithstanding the many opportunities she had to see Playes, to which the neighbourhood, and vicinity of the Play-house there, and the frequent throngs of Gentlewomen which prest thither, might have been forcible and prevailing invitations, yet she could never whilst she lived there, nor indeed all the time of her being in *London*, be induced to see any of them; and being sometimes advised by her dearest Friend, to go thither, as other Gentlewomen did, to avoid too much retiredness, she answered, it is hard to say whether with more discretion, or Religion, that she liked it not, and that, next to Godshouse, she could best spend her time in her own. In Gods House (if I may with reverence use *Tertullians* expression) she saw enough of the *Scene*, *Scenica Doctrina delectant? Sat nobis sententiarum, sat versuum, sat etiam Canticorum, &c.* Sentences, Verses, and Songs enough to delight her soul. Would she see a *Tragedy*? There she could see before her eyes Jesus Christ, *evidently set forth, crucified amongst them*, Gal. 3. 1. What a sight is Christs coming to Judgement? Kings throwing down their Crowns and Scepters, and themselves before him? In her own house she could (as *Solomon* describes the excellent Huswife, *Prov. 31. 27, 28.*) imploy her self in looking well to the wayes of her Household, and not eating the bread of idleness, that so her children might rise up,
and

Her love to
Gods House.

and call her blessed; her Husband also, and he might praise her.

She was so far from the gadding disposition of other talking, walking women, that she was for the most part as a Snail, *Domus porta*, within her own shell and family. And as St. *Ferom* pourtaits his never enough admired, and applauded *Marcella*, *Raro procedebat in publicum, & maxime Nobilium Matronarum domos vitabat, ne cogeretur videre quod contempserat*: She went seldom abroad, and especially chose to decline the houses of Noble and Honourable Ladies, lest she should be tempted to see those vanities which she resolved to contemn, and so be unwillingly wrought and brought to desire what she so willingly despised.

Her retired-
ness.

This retiredness (as usually it doth) drew on her a decrease of health, which occasioned, for the enjoyment of a better air, and recovery of health, her removal to *Cheswick*, where she lived to her dying day, exceedingly beloved, and dyed extreamly lamented, and desired of all.

Her weakness.

While she enjoyed her health, which yet was much interrupted, her constant, and unfailing practice was, besides daily prayers in the Family, to betake her self in the morning, and at other convenient times to her constant private devotions in her Closet, and then allotting some time (for being a wife and prudent woman, she made a little time reach far) in the education, and oversight of her children, and disposing and dispensing the affairs of the Family, the residue of the day she spent in reading books of Piety and Devotion, and most willingly those of Dr. *Gouge*, by which means she made her heart, *Bibliothecam Christi*,

Her holy life.

a Library of Christ, and furnished her self with such a stock of Christian knowledge, and devotion, as carried her on with much comfort and cheerfulness through all her afflictions, till she arrived at her long, and much longed for home.

Her Meekness.

Both in her health, and sickness, she was of so meek and milde a comportment, and behaviour towards all, that she conquered by it, as *Ignatius* advised *Polycarp* to do, those that had (if at least any had) any venomous sting, or spleen against her. For her meekness she seemed indeed like that Dove in the Prophet *Hosea*, chap. 7. 11. that had *no heart*, none certainly to do any harm or injury to any. And as *Solomon* saith, *Prov.* 15. 1. *A soft answer turns away wrath*; so without doubt her soft and milde disposition in these rough and blustering times, kept off many an impetuous storm and shower from her. This mildness was eminently conspicuous in her sickness. One night her Husband perswaded her to use an *Electuary* that was sent her, she refused it twice, but in milde tears; yet the next morning she told him, that she had been too blame (it might be) in her words the night before. Often she desired all the world to forgive her if she had offended any, as she heartily forgave them all that had offended her. Her Husband told her, that he thought she had no enemies; *Yea* (said she) *some have wronged me, but I forgive them from my heart, and desire God to forgive them.*

Her Sickness.

In all the time of her sickness she was never heard to use any impatient word to any, or of any, *Quis unquam ab hac muliere quod displiceret audivit?* That I may use *St. Feroms* Question concerning another

on

on her behalf, Who ever heard any thing from this good woman that might displease him? or believed any thing against her, and condemned not himself of too much credulity or malignity in believing it? Cheerful she was, yet she tempered it with such a becoming severity; severe she was, yet she allayed it with such a decent cheerfulness, that it may be truly said of her, what was said by St. *Ferom* of a virtuous woman, *Nothing was more severe than her cheerfulness, nor cheerful than her severity.* Such a concurrence and constellation of virtues and sweetness, such a Mirror of Charity, such a Treasury and Magazine of Chastity and Sobriety was in her. In short, she had such an eminency in single virtues, as if she had had no more, and yet such a worthiness in all, as if she had been singular in none.

Since the troubles of these bleeding times she suffered many afflictions with a *Masculine* patience, though much imbittered to her by a long, and tedious sickness, and the necessary, and indispensable absence of her dearest Comfort, which yet she professed, that it never bred in her the least ill thought of him, saying often, that she did but desire to see him again, and to speak with him, and then she was ready, if God so pleased, the next day to sing old *Simeons*, *Nunc dimittis*, Luke 2. 29. *Lord now lettest thy servant depart in peace.* And God heard her prayer, and his also (for in this they were joynt and mutual Orators) and to her great comfort, she saw him, and spake with, and for three weeks space they mutually enjoyed each other abroad in the house. But then the *first-born of Death* began to devour her strength (as *Bildad* speaks,

Her patience.

Job

Job 1.13,14.) and threatned to bring her to the *King of Terrours*; for so indeed Death is to them that have not made their peace with God: But to her, however in regard of the dissolution, and parting of those dear friends, body and soul (which had been now for two and forty years sweet, and loving inmates) a valley of *Achor*, *Hos. 2.15.* (that is, bitterness, as the word imports) yet was it to her a door of hope to open her a passage into that better world, which she so much longed after, often professing, that there was nothing that could tempt her to wish for life, but the breeding up of her little ones; which yet now she was the less solicitous about, because she could leave them in the hands of their tender, and careful Father, not doubting (as old dying *Jacob* said when he was blessing the two Sons of *Joseph*, *Gen. 48.15.16.*) *That that God which had fed her all her life long untill that day, and the Angel which had redeemed her from all evil, would bless them.* And now finding her self arrested by the messenger of Death, and her body (like the house of *Saul*; growing weaker, and weaker, but her soul (like the house of *David*) waxed stronger and stronger, took higher flights, and made, nearer approaches to God that gave it.

Her Comforts.

When her Husband came to her (as he did frequently) he continually admonished, and minded her of the gracious Promises of mercy in Christ, and of faith in him, and desired her to be strengthened, and comforted in them: Her answer was, she was comforted in them, she found the comfort of Gods Spirit in her, and verily believed she should see the goodness of the Lord in the Land of the living, *Psal. 45.13.*

Ever

Ever and anon saying, *I am comforted : Gods Spirit is in me which makes me endure my sickness, and more pains than you can think of, so comfortably as I do.*

When she knew of none by, her usual prayer was, *Lord look down upon me in thy mercy, Lord forgive me my sins, Lord assist me with thy holy Spirit; Lord thou hast assured me of the forgiveness of my sins; Lord assist me still with thy holy Spirit.* And many times passing the whole night without sleep, she spent that time in these, and the like heavenly prayers, and ejaculations, in which her Husband, and those which attend her continually, still found her when they came to her.

Never man had a more faithfull, dear, and loving Wife, or more carefull of what concerned him, than himself, and more tender of any thing said, or done against him, than if it had been said, or done against her self. And when he seemed to lament the loss he should have if God took her from him : She meekly answered, *We came not into the world together, and therefore may not look to go out together.* When he replied, that it would be much better for their children if he went first, as by the course of nature was most likely, she said, that he could do much better for the children than she could, and thanked God for that she could now leave them with him.

For the space of three weeks she kept her bed, and about a fortnight before her death, being surprized with a fainting fit in which she was like to depart, and thereby perceiving that earth would suddenly return to the earth whence it came, that her soul might be

the better winged, and prepared for a return to God that gave it, she desired that all the Family might be called up, and joyn in prayers with, and for her. At which time, observing the grief and passion of her Husband, and those that were present, expressed plentifully by tears from their eyes, she besought him, and them not to grieve, and lament for her happiness.

About that time a Reverend person coming to visit her Husband, he solicited him to enlarge that great act of favour unto him, by a greater act of charity to his wife, by visiting her also whom God now visited with sickness, as also to pray with, and administer some comfort unto her, which he most willingly condescended unto; and having taken a strict account of her faith in Christ, and hopes of a better life, he left her with his Fatherly benediction, top full of comfort; and when she was afterwards told that he came out of respect and kindness to visit her Husband, she said, No, but God had sent him for her comfort, often acknowledging the consolations which she had found by him.

When any came to visit her in the time of her sickness, at the parting, she desired them to pray for her, and often sent Messengers, and caused Letters to be directed to her friends in *London* to pray for her, for that she was now preparing for another world.

Her Faith.

When she was sometimes desired for her childrens sake to chear up her self, her answer was, that to leave them did not trouble her, because she was assured that God would provide for them, adding that she would willingly leave Husband, Children, and all, to go to Christ,

Christ, which was just the minde of that blessed Martyr Ignatius, *Befall me (said he) what will, or can, so I may enjoy Jesus Christ, my Love, my Life that was crucified for me; or rather St. Pauls case, expressed in that most elegant Barbarisme, Phil. 1. 23. Desiring to be with Christ, which is multo magis melius, much more better.*

And now finding the day of her life wasted to the evening, and ready to dye into night, on the Lords day before her death, she desired the prayers of the Congregation in the Parish where she lived, being well assured (as she said) that many good people would pray heartily for her. After which, some coming to visit her, and exhorting her to patience, and to remember the afflictions of *Job*, she answered, that she had had her part in his afflictions, God having given her *Luctuosam secunditatem*, as *St. Jerom* said of *Lata*, a sad, and sorrowfull fruitfulness, taking away seven of her children in their minority, so that she (as *Hanna* spake in her song, *1 Sam. 2. 5.*) that had *born seven, waxed feeble*, yet she comforted her self with this hope, that they were in Heaven before her, and hoped that they would be Lamps to lead her to heaven; for she assured her self, that they *followed the Lamb whithersoever he goeth*, and for those two which were yet alive, she thanked God, for that she saw no ill qualities in them. Besides (she said) that God had taken away her goods from her, but had given her patience, which to her was of more value; and she esteemed it above them all, knowing that God was able to restore all when he pleased.

She begs Prayers.

Her Afflictions.

She often acknowledged Gods goodness to her in

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sending

sending her a milde sickness, and not taking her away with some sudden stroke (as he did the wife of *Ezekiel*, Chap. 24. 16.) or by some tormenting disease, as he is pleased to visit some of his dear ones, acknowledging the wonderful mercy of God to her therein.

She blesteth
her Children.

A week before her death, she called her eldest Daughter to her, being to go from her to School at *Putney*, and putting her hand on her shoulder, she said to her, *I give you that blessing which my Mother gave me at her death, The God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob bless you* (and then added the blessing which *Aaron* by Gods own appointment was to give the children of *Israel*) *The Lord bless thee, and keep thee, the Lord make his face shine upon thee, and be gracious unto thee, the Lord lift up his countenance upon thee, and give thee peace.* And bid her serve God, and pray duly to him both morning and evening, and fear his Name, and then (said she) *I doubt not but God will bless you, as he hath blessed me.* In the evening of the same day, she commanded her younger Daughter to be brought her, and to be put upon the bed in a kneeling posture, and then putting her hand on her shoulder, she gave her also the same blessing as she had given to her sister.

Four dayes before her death she grew a little better, which put her Friends in some hope of her recovery; but the day following her sickness seized on her again, and so continued upon her that she slept no more till she slept the sleep of death, and together with her sickness, her Piety, Devotions, and comforts encreased in her.

In the last night of her life, presently after midnight, feeling death now approaching, she sent for her Husband, and Family out of their beds, and told him when he came to her, that she was now leaving the world and him, and expressed in many words her great devotion, faith and assurance of that everlasting life which she now was shortly to enjoy, and desired that they might now all pray together, which they did, she still expressing much devotion and comfort; and after an hour spent in those passages, she desired that the Bell might be tolled for her, and some Gentlewomen of her neighbours, coming to her, before them she expressed her comforts, and assurances of everlasting life as before, and with increase, and therein, and in prayers they continued till near the rising of the Sun.

Her Devotion

After this she seemed for a while willing to slumber, and closed her eyes, and so lay for a little while, but then turned her head to the other side of the Pillow, and after a few restless turnings, she said (what the Prophet *Micha* had said before her, *Mich. 2. 10.*) There is no rest in this world, and then opening her eyes, after some expressions of the comfort which she felt, distinctly knowing all that were present, and speaking to them all, she seemed to slumber again, and after a little time, spake these words, *Come, let us go, let us go*; repeating those words several times, which she spake not in a slumber, but being awake, and as perfect in her understanding, and memory, as at any time in her life. And it is a comfortable opinion that *Divines* teach from *Luke 16. 22.* that the Angels do attend on Gods children, especially at the time of their

dissolution, to conduct their souls from earth, to heaven; which opinion she sometimes in her sickness related to her Husband, and added, that she had heard it from the Pulpit, and had read it in some Books, and she believed it to be true, and comforted her self with it.

After a little time she called for some drink, and having taken it, it began to alter her, as it seems she felt in her self, for she presently laid her self back on her Pillow, and lifting up her eyes towards Heaven, she said, *Lord have mercy upon me; Lord Jesus receive my soul;* and so continued moving her lips, and her tongue, but her words were not heard, and then held up one hand, and then joyned both her hands together, holding them up with her eyes still heaven-ward, till her strength failing her, she laid down her hands by her, and stretched her self in the bed without any help, and sweetly fell asleep about seven a clock in the morning, *August the 15. Anno Christi 1646.*

Her Death.

And *August the 24.* she was decently, and solemnly laid in her bed of rest; the house (as *Job* saith) appointed for all the living, *Job 30. 23.* where the weary are at rest; where the wicked cease from troubling, and bear not the voyce of the oppressor, *Job 3. 17, 18.*

The

The Life, and Death of Mrs.
Margaret Corbet, who dyed
Anno Christi 1656.

IF we enquire into the Relations of this Gentlewoman, either by Affinity or Consanguinity, or both sides, the Families are ancient, of renown, and good reputation. Concerning the Family from whence she was descended, her Father was Sir Nathaniel Brent, late Warden of *Merton College*, a learned Knight, whose great pains, and dangerous adventures to procure the *History of the Council of Trent* (which he translated into *English*) are to be remembered with an honourable mention, and for his faithful discovery of *Jesuitical* jugglings, his name will be had in honour, when the names of the *Popish* party will rot.

Her Parentage

Her Mother, the Lady *Martha Brent*, was a Lady of a Gracious spirit, abounding in love, meekness, humility, love to Gods Ordinances, and Gods Children. Her delight (with *David*) was in the society of Saints. She imitated her worthy Father in the sweetness of disposition, who was Dr. *Robert Abbot*, that learned and godly Bishop of *Sarum*, who was *Malleus Baptismi*, & *Arminianismi*, the Hammer of *Poperie* and *Arminianisme*: His excellent Works or Monuments of his Honourable memory.

To be born of a godly Family, and to be well defended, is a mercy not to be neglected. Mr. *Philpot*, a zealous Martyr, being a Kings Son, and an Archdeacon,

deacon, told his adversaries that he was a Gentleman. *Anabaptistical* parity, and *Levelling* designs are worthily to be abhorred, and looked upon as a ready way to confusion, rapine, and violence. So then we see that she was a Gentlewoman every way well descended. Her Ancestors were persons of Honour, and from them she had the benefit of an ingenuous and liberal Education. This is much, but its more, when I say that she came of a godly stock, and of praying Relations; and indeed, this is that which ennobles Nobility it self.

Her timely
Conversion.

God in mercy began with this Gentlewoman sometimes, even about the fourteenth year of her age. Then God gave her a willing minde, and purpose of heart to serve him in the dayes of her youth: Inſomuch as ſhe was *ſwift to hear* the word of God, *ſhe waited diligently at the poſts of Wiſdomes Gate*. She wrote the Sermons which ſhe heard (a practice uſed by King Edward the ſixth, that rare *English Joſiah*) and ſhe left many volumes of Sermons of her own hand-writing, taken with great dexterity, and theſe are as ſo many choiſe Monuments of her Induſtry. She was much converſant in reading of the holy Scriptures (which can *make us wiſe unto ſalvation*) and ſhe joynd with her reading, prayer, and meditation. Her delight was in the word of God: It was (as with *Jeremy*) the *joy and rejoycing* of her ſoul; and with the reading of Scriptures ſhe ſearched Expoſitors, and *Practical Divines*, and attained thereby to ſuch a meaſure of Divine knowledge, as enabled her to ſtate ſome Questions of controverſie for her better uſe, and help of her memory, and to diſcourſe very ſoundly upon the

Her Piety.

the most material points of Religion, and even above her age and sexe, to maintain the truth, as occasion was offered, with strength of Argument against gain-sayers.

She was eminent for the grace of *Humility*; and when I have said that she was of an humble spirit, what can be said more? This the Apostle would have us *to be clothed withall*, 1 Pet. 5. 7. Humility is the ornament of all Graces: Its that Salt that seasons the best parts and graces. So humble was the spirit of this excellent Gentlewoman, that the poorest might have free access unto her, and receive courteous language from her mouth, and liberal almes from her heart and hand, both being opened wide for their relief. The observation of this humble deportment from her child-hood, gained the heart of her dear Husband unto her, long before she was ripe for her Marriage: Her humble spirit evidently appeared by her condescending *to them of low estate*: the servants in her Family, the poorest, and meanest in the Parish where she lived, will bear witness to the truth of this particular.

Her Humility.

She was of a *meek and quiet spirit*, which (as the Apostle saith, 1 Pet. 3. 3.) *is in the sight of God of great price*. All her Relations will attest her meek deportment, and how much she hated brawls and contentions: Her very enemies (if they would speak their consciences) can testify her readiness to pass by injuries. So far she was from *rendering reviling for revilings*, that she endeavoured to *recompence evil with good*, and prayed for such as despitely used her, professing that it was the desire of her Soul to

Her Meekness.

do her very enemies all the Christian offices of love which lay in her power.

Her Prudence
and Gravity.

Special notice ought also to be taken of her Wisdom and Gravity in the ordering of her conversation. Her discourses were savoury, administering *Grace to the hearers*, and tending to edification. Her behaviour was modest, and grave; though she was of a cheerful spirit, yet it was without levity: She was no tatter, bulie-body, no medler in the affairs of others: She was no gadder up and down from house to house, hearing, and telling of news (as too many do to the wounding of the reputations of others.) The vain and frivolous discourse of some who came to visit her, was an heavy burden, and affliction to her spirit. The discourses of such as tended to the defaming and blasting others reputation, were a great grief and trouble unto her; and when she heard such discourses, she would endeavour to turn the stream another way, and move such discourse as might be profitable for the sou's good.

Her love to
the Saints.

Her Love was very eminent towards all those that feared God: she was with *David*, a *Companion* to such, a lover of their acquaintance, who were the Saints, the *excellent ones*, *Psal.* 16. 3. In so much as when she apprehended any thing of God, though in persons inclining to separation, and of a contrary judgement from her, she was so compassionate, as to labour with much sweetness and candour, to convince them of their errors, and to win them to the truth; imitating herein the holy practice of learned *Muscus*, who gained some *Anabaptists*, and *Sectaries* by kindness, and benefits, and overcame them as much by love as by arguments.

Her

Her holy Courage deserves special notice ; for though she was humble, meek, and loving, yet she was stout and courageous in declaring her judgement upon just occasions, before those whom she knew to be contrary minded, hating compliance against conscience, and doubting alwayes the soundness and sincerity of those who durst not own their opinions. She was much of her worthy Fathers temper in that particular, who hath been often heard to say, that a Coward can hardly be an honest man; and much of *Esters* resolution, desiring rather to suffer her self than sluggishly, and silently to see the truths of God to suffer.

Her Courage.

She was a praying Christian: She was much in prayers and tears; much in a sacred acquaintance, and holy communion with God: Her gift in prayer was very great: She was much in her Closet alone, and there much upon her knees: An excellent pattern for womens imitation, which by no means should suffer that great duty to be omitted. It was a Character of *Paul*, when converted, *Act. 9. 11. Behold he prays.* Praying Christians are the best Christians, they are prevailing Christians; and as Reverend and holy Mr. *Dod* was used to say, *Never despair of that person who can but pray.*

Her frequent Prayers.

She was fixed and steadfast in Religion, having frequently read the Scriptures, and many sound, orthodox, and practical *Divines*, she became settled, rooted and grounded in the truth. She was one that held fast her profession without wavering. She was not carried about with every wind of *Doctrines*, *Eph. 4. 14.* neither was she of their humours, who for poltrick ends

Her Constancy.

comply with all companies in their opinions. She kept close to the publick Ministry where she lived, there she heard the word faithfully dispensed. She neither was of their opinion, nor practice, who out of I know not what kinde of singularity, separate from the Ministry of a godly Pastor and Husband. Her delight was very great in Gods Ordinances, and she was glad when they said, *Let us go to the house of the Lord in company.* She had such an high esteem of, and longing desire unto the house of God, that when her strength failed her, she would be carried thither; by reason of lameness, the feet of her body were weak, but the feet of her soul, her affections, were strong, nimble, and vigorous.

Her Family
Government.

Look upon her in her Relations, as a Wife, a Mother, and Mistress, and you shall see she was mindefull of her duty to God in them all: Her great care and endeavour was to set up God in her Family; in order whereunto she bestowed great pains in *Catechising* of her children, and other near Relations committed unto her charge. Her great design was to bring them all up in the fear and admonition of the Lord, and to inculcate again and again, that main and needfull lesson of *Remembering their Creator in the dayes of their youth.* Much pains she took in *Catechising*, and instructing her servants, especially before they were to receive the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. She used to examine them of the Sermons they heard, and she customarily read over those Sermon Notes to them which she had taken at Church, that so they might be the better prepared to give an account thereof to her Husband. God was pleased to give her several *Olive branches round*.

round about her Table, well bred, well *Catechised*, and well governed, and of very great hopes. As *Eunice* and *Lois* instructed young *Timothy*, so she instructed those hopefull little ones in the holy Scriptures, and acquainted them with the knowledge of God in their tender years. Thus according to *Solomons* counsel, they were trained up in the way wherein they should walk, *Prov. 21. 6.* and that even from their childhood; inasomuch as one of them (though very young) hearing a neighbour using the name of the Lord upon a sleight occasion, reproved him for it, alleading the Commandement of God against it, *Thou shalt not take the Name of God in vain.* And another of them reasoning with his fellows about God and the Devil, professed that he had rather be in hell with God, than in heaven with the Devil. And a third, who by reason of her age could not speak distinctly, said in some discourse with her Father, that God Almighty would not bless them who tell Fibbs (meaning Lies) and that she had rather dye than tell a Fibb; so far had their Mothers instructions prevailed with them.

She was eminent for a charitable and bountifull spirit; she was another *Dorcas*, full of good works, and *Alms-deeds*. That high *Elogium* that *Solomon* gives a vertuous woman, may properly be applied unto her, *Many Daughters have done vertuously, but she excelled them all,* *Prov. 31. 29.* Many there are that come far short of her, but very few that went beyond her in the acts of Charity. God gave her a liberal and plentiful estate, and that was a great mercy; but it was a far greater mercy that he gave her a liberal heart to do good, and to distribute: To cast her bread on the waters,

Her Charity.

and to *honour God with her substance*. That protestation which *Job* makes for his own vindication, may fitly be applied unto her, *Job* 31.16,19. He would not *with-hold the poor from their desire, nor cause the eyes of the widow to fail*. He would not *see any to perish for want of cloathing, nor any poor without covering*. The whole Country round about where she dwelt, will bear her witness, that she visited and relieved the sick, and cloathed the naked, fed the hungry, and healed the wounded. Her purse, her hand, her heart, were all open for their relief. She bought many precious Drugs, and cordial waters: She made several precious salves, and gave them all away to such as were in need of them. She spared not her best pains, being never weary of well doing; insomuch that in the extremity of her greatest sickness (such bowels of compassion yearned in her) she compounded several Medicines with her own hands, and applied them. Thus will her works praise her in the Gate, and *being dead, she yet speaketh*, Prov. 31.31. Heb. 11.4. For her precious name liveth. The Lord will have the name of the Righteous to be in *everlasting remembrance*, Psal. 112.6. and the *memory of the just is blessed*, Prov. 10.7. And *precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his Saints*, Psal. 116.15. Now this rare Gentlewoman reaps the fruit of her serving of God, and the whole harvest, whereof she received onely the first fruits in this present world.

Her Sickneſs.

The usual saying is, *All is well that ends well*: Come we therefore to speak of her end. Her life was holy, and therefore her death must needs be happy. It pleased the Lord to exercise her with a long and
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lingring sickness; and amidst the weakness of the outward man, God gave her great strength in her inward man; though her limbs and outward strength failed her, yet God was her *strength and portion*, and he never failed her. A few dayes before her distemper waxed high (her Husband being from home) she sent for all her Family both young and old, to come in unto her chamber, with whom she prayed near two hours, with such pathetical, heavenly, Scripture-language, as drew admiration and tears from those that were present. She blessed her children, counselled her servants, heartily and affectionately commended her Husband unto God; she wept and prayed, and prayed and wept, and could not easily part with the company, nor yet leave off praying, and weeping.

Upon the encrease of her distemper, her spirit was much disturbed, and some impertinent speeches did fall from her, yet in the midst of all her impertinences, Grace, and the Spirit of God, did eminently declare their Power and Sovereignty in her, by many savoury and choice speeches, and sweet breathings of her soul; some of which are these that follow, *I was in the Devils claws, but Jesus Christ, the sweet Bridegroom of my soul, the sweet Bridegroom of my soul* (these words she often reiterated) *the sweet Bridegroom of my soul hath delivered me.* At another time, *I am safe, for Jesus Christ is at my heart, and I would not part with him for ten thousand worlds.* Again, *Come Lord Jesus the Captain of my salvation, ride on gloriously conquering, and so conquer for me Satan, Sin, Hell, Death, and all mine enemies.* Afterwards again, *I was in Hell, but now I am in Heaven; I am in Heaven indeed, indeed.*

Her hoity
speeches.

deed I am in Heaven ; I am in Heaven eternally ; I am in Heaven the habitation of Gods glory unto all eternity. Much of this nature she did speak , even when her understanding was so disturbed, that she scarce-did know her near Relations, and those who did attend upon her in her Chamber.

Her Character,

Her Death,

And now all these things are worthy to be transmitted unto posterity , and to be had in perpetual remembrance. She was an eminently godly Gentlewoman, being but little above Eight and twenty years of age when she dyed , which was in the beginning of *March, Anno Christi 1656.* But though she was young in years, yet was she old in Grace: She had lived long in a little time: She was a mirror of her age, and a renown of her sexe , a pattern worthy of imitation. She was the beloved faithfull wife of as an intirely loving and faithfull Husband. She was a tender affectionate Mother to her own , and no less carefull of those pledges committed to his charge. She was a most dear Sister, an affectionate Mistrefs, carefull both of the bodies and souls of her servants , that they should neither want corporal, nor spiritual food. Her profession was with *Joshua, Chap. 24. 15. Choose you this day whom you will serve; But as for me, I and my house, we will serve the Lord.* She was not onely a friend to her friends , but a friend to her enemies , even unto such as despitefully used her All the Country round about could not but look upon her, whilst living as a publick gain, and when dead. as a publick loss : She was very usefull whilst she lived , and will be much missed now she is dead. Two things were very eminent in her: Settledness in Religion , and holiness of conversation.

By

Mrs. Margaret Corbet.

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By her death the poor have lost a liberal *Almoner*; the sick have lost a good *Physitian*; the wounded have lost a good *Chirurgion*; the Husband hath lost a faithful *Wife*; the children a tender *Mother*, the servants a gracious *Mistress*: and not any that knew her of all her neighbours and friends, but they will finde a great loss, and miss of her. All that knew her loved her, but onely such whose love is not worth the having. She lived much desired, and dyed much lamented: For her *to live was Christ, and to die was gain*, Phil. 1. 21. She was honoured in her life, and she was honoured at her death, by a confluence of many persons of quality, of the Gentry, Ministry, and Neighbourhood round about, who by their concourse at her Funeral, shewed plainly in what an high estimation she was amongst them, and that her *good Name was like a precious Oynment powred forth*. The hope of Glory was that sovereign Cordial which abundantly revived, and satisfied her spirits whilst she lived, and now her hope is turned into fruition, and her faith into vision. All her sorrows and sighings are turned away, and her employment is without the least tediousness, without interruption, and intermission to sing *Hosannahs*, and *Allelujahs* to him that sitteth upon the Throne, and to the Lamb for evermore.

This Life was drawn up by my Reverend and worthy Friend Dr. Henry Wilkinson, principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxon.

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The Life, and Death of Mrs.
Elizabeth Wilkinson, who dyed
Anno Christi 1654.

Her parentage,
 and education.

Mrs. *Elizabeth Wilkinson* was born of godly Parents, of an ancient, and well reputed Family of the Gentry in *Devonshire*. Her Father was Mr. *Anthony Gifford*, her Mother, Mrs. *Elizabeth Cottle*, and by them she was religiously educated during her minority: After which she lived with an Aunt (an old Disciple) above twenty yeares together, where she had many prizes put into her hands to get wisdome, even many spirituall advantages for her eternall good. But considering that no helps of education, nor any means could prove effectuell without divine influences; it pleased the Lord out of the riches of his mercy, in a signall manner to vouchsafe a blessing to all those helps, for the good of her soul, and to crown all endeavours in order thereunto with good success.

Her timely
 conversion.

She was observed from her childhood to be very docile, very willing to learn, industrious in reading of, and swift to hear the Word of God preached. She was very carefull to remember what she heard, and took much pains in writing Sermons, and collecting speciall Notes out of practicall *Divines*. She had the ornament of a meek, and quiet spirit; with that she was eminently adorned: She looked not (as too many do) upon gaudy, and vain dressees as any ornament:

ment: She neither liked them, nor conformed to them, but went in a grave, decent, and ſober attire: She was humble, gentle, tender-hearted, and full of bowels of compaſſion, remembering *ſuch as were in bonds, as if ſhe had been bound with them*, Heb. 13. 3. She was of ſo affable, ſweet, and courteous a diſpoſition, that ſhe gained abundance of love, and reſpect from all thoſe that converſed with her: and by this means ſhe was the greater gainer by all good conferences. It was her uſual cuſtome to move good diſcourſe, and oftentimes ſhe turned the ſtream of other impertinent talk into ſomething which was ſolid, and tended unto edification, and that miniſtred *grace to the hearers*.

She kept a *Diary* of Gods dealings with her ſoul, and of other various diſpenſations that ſhe met withall. She was much buſied in prayer, meditation, and ſelf-examination. She would often deſire her Huſband, and others of her acquaintance to deal plainly, and impartially with her. For (ſaid ſhe) *I would not be deceived with a formall profeſſion, nor with a temporary faith. Perhaps through affection you may judge far better of me than I deſerve; wherefore I deſire you to ſiſt, and ſearch me thoroughly: for I like ſuch plain dealing beſt of all, and thoſe are my beſt friends which deal moſt plainly with me.*

Her piety.

In proceſs of time after a careful watching over her heart, and frequent addreſſes made unto the Throne of grace, ſhe found returns anſwerable to her prayers, and deſires: God gave her a large meaſure both of parts, and graces: She was able not only to aſſert the truths of God, but to convince gainſayers. She

Her growth in grace.

Her afflictions
sanctified.

abounded in love, faith, meekness, humility, and the rest of the graces of the Spirit, insomuch as she became a Christian of the higher Form, a tall Cedar of *Libanus*, a grown, solid, and excellent Christian.

It pleased God for the triall of her graces, to exercise her very much in the School of affliction. Insomuch as ten years before her death, she was (one time reckoned with another) at least half the time sick. But God ordered this sickness of her body to be a medicine for her soul. For the spirit of prayer was much set on work hereby; and her faith, love, and patience did appear, and shine the more eminently. Out of the Furnace she came forth as gold purified seven times: so that the rod, and staff, correction, and instruction went together, and by these fatherly chastisements her soul did thrive more abundantly. When she was able, she neglected not the frequenting of the publick Assemblies: they were her delight: and she was a professed adversary to the withdrawing from the publick Congregations of the Saints. Both them, and the godly, and Reverend Ministers of the Gospel she had in high esteem, and revered them all her dayes. And when she was not able to go to the publick Congregations, she used to spend her time in reading, prayer, and meditating at home, and imployed her friends to read to her, and pray with her. Such as were stable, and sincere Christians were her delight: Those she accounted more excellent than their neighbours. She would often say, that *She valued no friends like to those who were friends to her soul.*

.Concerning

Concerning her deportment, and carriage to her Relations (for such as are reall Saints shew it in their severall capacities) never was a Wife more full of sincere love, and respect to an Husband, whom she loved entirely, and was as entirely beloved by him. Her affection to her children was very tender: She was carefull to *Catechize*, instruct, and to train them up in the fear of God, and upon her Deathbed, amongst many other excellent counsels, and instructions, she added this charge as from a dying Mother, that they should remember that they had a Mother, who would not allow them in any sin. She was carefull also to instruct her servants, and to teach them the fear of the Lord. Indeed she was ready, and willing (as opportunity was offered) *to do good unto all*: and as need required, gave unto them, both corporall, and spirituall food. She had a large heart, and improved it to do a great deal of good in a little time: Infomuch as the poor, the sick, the afflicted, and the unexperienced to whom she was very mercifull, and usefull whilest she lived, had a very great miss of her when she was dead. In brief, she was one of those Worthies *of whom the world was not worthy*: And yet to give a further Character of her, I will here set down a Narrative, copied exactly out of her own handwriting, of Gods gracious dealing with her soul, as it follows word for word.

Her Relative
d writes.

“ It pleased the Lord out of the riches of his grace,
 “ to remove me from an ignorant place where I was
 “ born, and to bring me very young, into a Religi-
 “ ous Family: And when I was about twelve years of
 “ age, upon the reading in the *Practice of Piety*, con-
 “ cerning

The time, and
manner of her
conversion.

cerning the happy estate of the godly, and the miserable condition of the wicked in their death, and so for ever unto all eternity; it pleased the Lord so much to affect my heart with it, as from that time my heart was wrought over to a desire to walk in the wayes of God. But at that time, I fear, I did not go upon a right principle; for I then did not eye the glory of God in it, but only my own safety, that it might be well with me for ever. But quickly after that I had but begun to set my face towards *Sion*, I was set upon with many temptations, and perplexities in my thoughts, which were very troublesome to me at all times, but especially when I was alone: the consideration whereof brought such an horror upon my conscience, insomuch as I did not know what to do. That little I had, whether from education, or from the light of Nature, caused a striving in me continually against those thoughts of *Atheisme*, which were most terrible unto me. I was sensible that it was a fearfull sin to have any such thoughts to lodge within my brest: but I desired from my soul to be freed from them, and had continuall reasonings within me against them, and yet still for a long time I was troubled, but could not acquaint any with my condition. I did not think that it was so with any other as it was with me.

Satans malice.

Gods mercy.

"In this strait, when I knew not which way to turn me, even there did the Lord extend his compassion towards me in my greatest extremity, in directing me to read *Calvins Institutions*, and especially that part that treats of the Creation. Whereupon

“ upon the Lord was pleased to give in such satisfacti-
 “ on to my soul, concerning those things about which
 “ I was troubled, as that from that time forwards I
 “ was not violently assaulted in that kind.

“ But no sooner was I freed from that trouble,
 “ but new ones sprang up: For the very remem-
 “ brance of that horrid sin of *Atheisme*, left such a ter-
 “ rour upon my spirit, as made me fear that I had
 “ committed that *sin against the Holy Ghost*: and so
 “ my condition seemed to be, not only for the pre-
 “ sent, but, in my apprehension, then for ever most
 “ miserable. All other sins, though never so great,
 “ I knew upon true repentance were pardonable: but
 “ this sin, that I lay under the fear of, I knew out of
 “ the Word of God should never be pardoned: which
 “ caused many sad fears upon my spirit known to God
 “ alone.

Satans subtil-
 ty.

“ For the removall of these fears, the Lord in mer-
 “ cy directed me to the reading of Mr. *Scudders*
 “ Works; where are laid down the marks of that sin.
 “ Upon perusall whereof the Lord was pleased to sa-
 “ tisfie my misgiving heart, by a clear manifestation
 “ to my soul, that I had not committed that sin; and
 “ so assured me that though my sins were great, yet
 “ were they pardonable, which put me more chear-
 “ fully upon the use of such means as the Lord had di-
 “ rected me unto. And having satisfaction given in
 “ concerning this particular, there was a great burden
 “ taken off from my spirit. Although I found no
 “ grace in my heart, nor discovery of the love of God
 “ unto my soul, yet, in that there was but a possibi-
 “ lity, there was a ground of comfort administered to
 “ my

Gods mercy.

“ my heart; which I formerly feared that I should be
 “ shut out from. But still my fears remained, that I
 “ was not one of those in particular for whom Christ
 “ died: The more I looked into mine own heart, the
 “ more I saw, of sin, and Satan, discouraging me
 “ from having any hope, that the Lord should accept
 “ of such a vile sinfull wretch as I was, who had en-
 “ tertained such sinfull thoughts.

“ I likewise thought how small the number was of
 “ those that should be saved, in comparison of others,
 “ and my repentance, I feared, came short of that
 “ which was required in the Gospel. As for faith, I
 “ could not find the least measure of it in my soul;
 “ with many other sad discouraging thoughts. But
 “ when I was most perplexed with fears, and doubts,
 “ even then did the Lord graciously dart in some
 “ beams of his reconciled countenance, as I was read-
 “ ing something in *Mr. Scudders Christian daily*
 “ *Walk, &c.* which the Lord set home upon my
 “ soul, and brought into my soul so much joy, and
 “ comfort at the present, as neither my tongue, nor
 “ Pen can express: But this joy remained not long,
 “ for I quickly lost the sense of it: yet the remem-
 “ brance of it was sweet unto me at all times.

“ But after this, all my former fears returned afresh
 “ again upon my heart, only I had a door of hope
 “ opened, that when God saw it best for me, he
 “ would return, and renew his reconciled counte-
 “ nance unto my soul in the clear light, and appre-
 “ hension thereof: and this was when I was about
 “ sixteen years of age. After which time the Lord
 “ did exercise me with various dispensations: For, for

“ two

Her comfort,
and joy.

“two years ſpace, I was by providence caſt upon a
 “place, where I heard very little powerfull preach-
 “ing, ſmall helps for the good of my ſoul, but what
 “the Lord was pleaſed to give in by the uſe of pri-
 “vate means. But his power, and abundant mercy
 “was much ſeen in that time, that, though I had not
 “much comfort, yet the Lord was pleaſed to keep up
 “my ſpirit in a way of depending upon him, and my
 “fears were leſs at that time, than formerly when I
 “had more helps: So gracious was the Lord unto
 “me, in keeping me alive in a time of famine.

Gods mercy
in want of
means,

“After this, through Gods goodneſs, I was ſome-
 “times under the preaching of a powerfull Miniſter,
 “[Mr. Bateman of Ockingham] who was Crowned
 “with the converſion, ſtrengthening, and building
 “up of many ſouls: unto whoſe preaching the Lord
 “gave me ſuch a bleſſing, as I ſeldome, if ever, went
 “away from hearing him without comfort. Though
 “I came to hear him with many doubts upon my ſpi-
 “rit, yet the Lord ſo ruled, and directed him, as if
 “his Sermons had been only concerning my particu-
 “lar, and he fully acquainted with the whole condi-
 “tion of my ſoul. Sometimes the Lord directed me
 “to ſome ſupporting Promiſes, upon which I relied:
 “But thoſe Promiſes which were made to Believers,
 “though I highly prized them, yet I durſt not apply
 “them to my ſelf, fearing that I had no intereſt in
 “them. But that Promiſe *Prov. 28. 13.* *He that*
 “*confelleth, and forſaketh his ſins, ſhall find mercy.*
 “And that *1 Joh. 1. 9.* *If we confeſs our ſins, he is*
 “*faithfull, and juſt to forgive us our ſins, and to*
 “*cleanſe us from all unrighteouſneſs.* And the Pro-
 “miſe

Gods provi-
dence,

Her faith in
Promiſes.

"mise is 1 Job. 2. 1, 2. If any man sin, we have an
 "Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the Righte-
 "ous, and he is the propitiation for our sins, and not for
 "ours onely, but for the sins of the whole world; and the
 "Invitation, Isa. 55. 1. Ho, every one that thirsteth come
 "ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye,
 "buy, and eat, yea come, buy wine and milk without
 "money, and without price, together with the rest of the
 "Chapter; all those places the Lord often made a
 "stay unto my soul: And afterwards the Lord so
 "blessed one means or other unto me, insomuch as I
 "was kept from sinking, and falling into such hor-
 "rour as many of the people of God sometimes fell
 "into.

Her fears and
 doubts.

"But yet my fears and doubts were so many, as
 "that my comfort never lasted long: If the Lord did
 "but *hide his face*, I was troubled. No longer could
 "I beleieve (then I found new strength given in) that
 "the Lord would ever have mercy upon my soul.
 "The sense of *Original sin*, and *Actual* transgressions in
 "their filthiness, and guiltiness, caused my fears yet
 "to remain upon my spirit, my faith then seemed
 "very small, if I had any, which I much questioned:
 "I durst not then say, *Lord increase my faith*, but I
 "could cry earnestly, *Lord work faith in me*: I found
 "much dulness and deadness, manifold distractions in
 "duties, so that God might justly have withdrawn
 "himself from me for ever; yet notwithstanding all
 "my uneven walking with God, he was graciously
 "pleased to manifest his mercy unto my soul.

"When I was stricken with such weaknesses, as
 "I apprehended might quickly have ended my life,
 "I fell

“ I fell into a great fear : At the firſt finding my heart
 “ to ſink , the Lord was pleaſed to give me ſo much
 “ reſpite, as to pour out my ſoul before him , deſiring
 “ ſtrength and ſupport from him to keep up my ſpirit,
 “ and to make me willing to ſubmit to his diſpenſati-
 “ ons, and the Lord graciously answered my prayers,
 “ in that he removed all my former doubtings , and
 “ fears all the time of that ſickneſs , which was long,
 “ and ſo dangerous, that neither I, nor others expected
 “ my life. The Lord then cleared up my evidences
 “ for Heaven, and gave me in ſo much comfort againſt
 “ the apprehenſion of death , as I never had in all my
 “ life before.

Her prayers
 answered.

“ Other like trials of the Lords love I found ſtill,
 “ when I was in the greateſt extremity , and ſtood
 “ moſt in need of help from him , inſomuch as at ſuch
 “ times , I have hoped that I ſhould never again have
 “ queſtioned the love of God to my ſoul : But I have
 “ found it otherwiſe by ſad experience : For when
 “ theſe impreſſions were worn off , I have been ready
 “ to call all in queſtion again concerning my poor
 “ ſoul. It made me oft to think of that which was
 “ laid to Solomons charge , that he forgot the Lord that
 “ had appeared to him twice. I found it the hardeſt
 “ thing to believe, that ever I went about. But this wa-
 “ vering condition could not ſatisfie my ſoul, for the
 “ Lord giving me ſometimes a glimpe of his love,
 “ made me long after fuller enjoyments of it, ſo that I
 “ was carried out with a reſtleſs impatience, to beg
 “ that the Lord would take away the heart of unbelief
 “ from me , which did both diſhonour him , and
 “ hinder me from that peace which the Lord was

A hard thing
 to believe.

She imparts
her condition
to Christian
friends,

And finds
comfort.

Her self-ex-
amination.

“willing that his people should enjoy.

“My heart then being brought unto that frame,
“I was more willing than ever I was before, to impart
“my condition unto some spiritual Friends, whom I
“desired to deal impartially with me, acquainting
“them with the whole condition of my soul, how far
“the Lord had carried me on, and at what I stuck, and
“still as new objections did arise, I laboured to get
“satisfaction: Being convinced that I had too much
“prejudiced my self in that I had not sooner made
“my condition known to some who were able to give
“me advice.

“This way of communicating my condition, I
“found the Lord blessed unto my soul, inasmuch that
“my hopes were more confirmed, my fears more re-
“moved, my faith more strengthened, and by the hear-
“ing of such Sermons and reading such Books as
“came closest unto the conscience, and were most for-
“trial of ones spiritual condition, I found the greatest
“benefit by, and received the most comfort from
“them. Formerly I had many fears that I was not
“one of them who had an interest in the Election of
“Grace: But the Lord afterwards put into my heart
“to enquire whether I had those Graces of his Spirit
“wrought in me which none but his own elect people
“could have.

“Upon the strictest searching into mine own heart,
“the Lord was pleased after many years of fear, at last
“to evidence unto my soul that there was a change
“wrought in my heart, will, and affections, notwith-
“standing the remainders of sin and corruption, which
“still encompassed me about; being confident that
“he

"he that had begun this good work, would not leave it
 "unfinished unto the day of Jesus Christ; and the
 "Lord was pleased to set home divers Promises for
 "the strengthening of my faith; to wit, those which
 "set down the *Everlasting Covenant*, 2 Sam. 23. 5. The
 "Everlasting love of God, Jer. 31. 3. Joh. 11. 13. The
 "certainty of the *Foundation*, 2 Tim. 2. 19. The cer-
 "tainty of the *Promises*, 2 Cor. 1. 20. They are all in
 "Christ Yea and Amen; and that the children of God
 "have eternal life promised unto them, and that
 "none shall be ever able to pluck them out of Christs
 "hands, Joh. 10. 28. Then for divers years the Lord
 "was pleased to stay me, to lead, and guide me till
 "he had set my feet upon that Rock which is higher
 "than I, from whence I trust, that I shall never be re-
 "moved. And now my hearts desire is, to ascribe
 "that measure of hope and comfort which the Lord
 "hath given me at any time, onely unto the praise of
 "the glory of his Grace, who hath made me accepted in
 "his Beloved, which is so great a mercy as I can never
 "be thankfull enough for, nor walk answerable there-
 "unto. I know, when I look into my heart, there is
 "matter of fear that the Lord will withdraw the in-
 "fluences of his comforts from me: But that which I
 "rest upon is, the free mercy of God in Christ, ex-
 "pecting performance of his Promises made, Rom.
 "6. 16. Sin shall not have dominion over you, because
 "you are not under the Law, but under Grace: And
 "Ezek. 36. 25. that he will sprinkle clean water upon
 "me, and that he will give me a new heart, and put a
 "new spirit within me, that he will take away my stony
 "heart, and give me an heart of flesh; being perswa-
 "ded

Her faith.

Her thankful-
ness.

“ded that the Lord will keep me by his own *Power*
 “*through faith unto salvation*. And now that I may
 “have all the Graces of the Spirit strengthened, and
 “increased in me, which I finde that I stand in con-
 “tinual need of : It is the desire of my soul to be a
 “partaker of the *Lords Supper*, which, through the
 “blood of Christ onely, I have right unto.

This is the particular account of Gods gracions dealing with this godly Gentlewoman: considering there was no administration of the Sacrament in that *Parochial* Congregation where she lived, and used formerly to receive it, nor any Pastor at all to officiate there, she being desirous to enjoy that great Ordinance, and that after a pure way of administration, sent this aforementioned *Narrative* to the Reverend Dr. *Harris*, living then in the University, who admitted her to the participation of the *Lords Supper* in that publick Assembly where he administrated it.

Now let us see also a Letter written by Dr. *Harris* concerning this godly Gentlewoman, whom he highly honoured, upon the occasion of his communicating the aforesaid Letter of hers to a friend : *Do not* (saith he) *think it lost time to read over this Narrative : It was penned by this gracious woman upon a serious occasion, what time she was to give an account of her self at her admission to the Lords Supper. The discourse is plain, but pregnant of instruction. I alter nothing in the thing, I onely take notice of the persons therein mentioned : As 1. God, 2. Satan, 3. The parties self : All which offer matter worthy thy thoughts.*

First in Satan, thou seest his most ordinary way and method

method in tempting. His first attempt is to blow out all light left in the soul, and to quell all thoughts of a Deity if possibly he can, that so no room at all may be left for God: If that cannot be, but the conscience will be sometimes talking; then his next work is to question and argue the case, whether indeed there be such a person as God, such a thing as the soul, such a book as the Bible, such a place as an Heaven or Hell; and if he cannot gain such a conclusion from the soul, then in the third place the Question is, What manner a one this supposed God is? And first, whilst thou art in thy natural state he represents God made all of mercy, and when thou art under mercy, all of vengeance and fury; there was no place for fear, and here none for hope: There sin was an inconsiderable thing, and beneath Gods cognisance; here sin is unpardonable, and beyond Gods mercy: In both estates he labours the destruction of Faith; now in the threats, then in the Promises. In the first estate you must never yeeld to self-despair; no, spit in his face that shall once question thy belief in God, without the least doubting. What? not believe my Maker with all my soul? What? once doubt or suspect him? I despise him, and the foul fiend that shall say so. On the other side, when once converted, what hast thou to do with the Covenant of Grace and Peace? That is bread for Children, not for Dogs, Hypocrites, for such as have sinned against the Holy Ghost, as thou hast done; and at this bay he holds the soul for some space; and eftssoon recruits his forces, and renews his Interrogatories, thus, Thou within the Promise? Thou a believer? Canst thou say, darest thou say that thou hast faith? It may be thou darest not deny it, but what is that to the point? Thou darest not affirm it, though

Sarans me-
thod, and sub-
tily.

though partial enough to thy self : Be advised by me, who loves plain dealing, and let not thy false heart, and these fawning Preachers be fool thee unto destruction.

Thus the Devil up, and down, first and last, thus he proceeded with man at the first, and though sometimes he shifts hands, and findes out new wayes, yet here lyes his road for the most part, and this is the first party here named.

Gods mercy
to his own.

Now in the second place, what doth God? It must be granted that he permitteth these Hellish Scullions to scour his Plate, and to fit the vessels of honour for their Masters use, and they (as glad of the office) bestir themselves, they dawb their vessels, and render them as foul and ugly as they can; but when they have done their work, God takes his Plate out of their hand to their no small grief; and in the meanwhile God goes along with the temptations, and in them all supports his poor servants now more immediately by his own hand, prompting their Petitions, darting into their souls some glimpses of comfort, minding them of some Promise, to be sure, yeelding them some secret hope, something or other which draws them along still more or less. 2. Now more immediately by men, and other means; sometimes he directs them to some special Book or Treatise which fits their case, and holds soul and life together at present; sometimes he sends an Interpreter one of a thousand, that shall rip up their misery, and shew them their misery, and shew them their remedy, and at last fetches off his Captives, even then when Satan began to crow, and cry victory, that extremity being Gods opportunity, and this is usually, though not ever, Gods way.

Now look upon the third concerned, the party tempted,
what

what doth he? He sticks (often) in the birth, fool as he is, his first work is to keep the Devils counsel, confess and be shamed for ever; the Devil is true to him, and he will be as true, and never peach: he travels with a wofull burden of sin, guilt, horronr; but if thou lovest thy self (saith the Devil) keep thy own counsel, trust not God, nor man. But if the Preacher doth force him to a confession, and he can hold no longer, then he makes forth but fair and softly. First, he makes many offers, goes, and comes, and something he would say, but is loath, he begins as far off, and then stops, begins again, and then stops again, takes another day, and then comes again with a purpose of uttering all; and when he comes to his friend, either all is quiet for the present, and the pang over, or else if he hangs still on the rack, then he drops out somewhat, but reserves the worst, and so is little the better, because he comes not to the bottome quickly; or if he speaks out all, yet there is another rub in the way; how can I tell whether this parties testimony be true or no, his judgement and affection being right? He shews me promises, but knows he or I whether those promises do belong to me? He speaks of a Christ, but what is that to me, if he be none of mine? He talks of believing, seeing is believing: It is a senseless thing to trust to anothers goodness when I have nothing of mine own; to believe mercy when I feel wrath, shall I not believe mine own eyes? And thus after a world of Sermons, Sacraments, Conferences, the poor soul hovers, and findes no rest or satisfaction till God be pleased to work him to these things,

Mans folly.

1. To a resolution of imparting himself to some godly friend, and of speaking his whole heart to some one or other.

2. Of resting in Gods bare word, without the assurance of sense.

3. Of accepting of Jesus Christ without any Ifs, and Ands, notwithstanding his own unworthiness.

4. Of waiting upon God, and hearkning when he will speak peace; and when he is brought thus far that he will be beholden to a Communion of Saines, and will take Gods word without any farther surety, and owe all to Christ, though he can contribute nothing, and in despite of all suggestions and discouragements will stick to the peace of Christ, and look for all his peace in that way, saying, Though he kill me yet will I trust in him, I will wait, and hearken to him; when (I say) he is thus far proceeded, Satan may now go shake his ears, and receive his answer, Its God that justifies, who shall condemn? Oh! Hell, where is thy power? Oh! Death, Oh! Devil, what is thy Commission? Its not my meaning to prescribe to God any one way of working; but this is the way he often takes with his children, and this we may finde exemplified in this foregoing Narrative touching the conversion and procedure of this Saint, so far as she hath commented upon her own life. Now for her death, I will tell thee what my observations were thereabout.

1. I finde that God began with her quickly, and called her hence before she was aged, and that is mostly his method where an early harvest is intended, a timely seeds-time is promised; they live quickly, and live apace who ripen betimes; so was it with her who was seldome out of action after her entrance, but gained as much time in so little a time as any I knew.

She dyed daily

2. I observe that death came not all at once upon her, she was yearly dying some years before she dyed her last, and

and thus death was made familiar to her : I have ſeldom known any of her age that was leſs amazed at the ſpeech and thoughts of death, ſo good a thing it is to know experimentally what it is to dye beforehand.

3. Obſerve how Gods power triumphs in weakeſt veſſels : It is a thing I have often thought on, that godly women for the moſt part dye more confidently and comfortably than do good men, the Lord trampling upon Satan in them, and in her very eminently.

4. Her patience was remarkable in the miſt of ſore pains which frequented her in the breeding and bearing of children, yet then her ſpeech was, I fear not pains, I fear my ſelf, leſt through impatience I ſhould let fall any unfitting word : It is a bleſſed frame when pain ſeems light, and ſin heavy.

He Patience.

5. I plainly ſaw in her the power of Grace beyond nature, 1. When life and death were both laid before her, her ſpeech was this, I am at my Fathers diſpoſal, howbeit of my ſelf I rather incline to death, than life. 2. Whereas her affections were very ſtrong both to her loving Husband and children, inſomuch as it was conceived, that the laſt farewell would go very near her when ſhe ſhould part with ſo precious and dear Friends, ſhe was ſo much taken up with the thoughts of Chriſt, that ſhe ſeemed not to ſtick at any ſuch relations. Nay thirdly, ſhe ſeemed wholly to forget her natural ſelf, for being intreated to favour her body and ſpeech in regard of the lowneſs of her ſpirits, after ſome pauſe ſhe brake forth into theſe words : Shall I for this poor carcaſs be wanting to my ſouls comfort, and my Saviours praises ? Let me have your prayers ſtill, and God his praises ; yea, pray not onely for, but with me. Which being

done, she overflowed with comfort, and in that condition I left her, and that stream of comfort led her, not long after, to the Fountain where are Rivers of joy for evermore.

Thus lived she a most profitable life: Thus dyed she a most fruitfull death. God so turned this his servant, that living, dying, and after death she should be fruitfull. Thus will God honour those that honour him. To him be all honour to Eternity. Amen.

Now it may be usefull to make mention of her last sickness, especially eight weeks before her death.

Her holy
speeches.

All her discourses were savoury, tending to edification. Many good Christians came to visit her, who all (if it were not their own fault) might reap some spiritual benefit from those many excellent speeches which proceeded out of her mouth. And the counsels she gave to her Relations, and other friends, were tempered with gravity, and affection. She accustomed not her self to affectation of high-flown phrases, but *held fast the form of sound words*. She was an old Disciple, and her grave and sober language accordingly discovered her so to be.

Her sickness.

From the very first of her last sickness, her apprehension was that she should dye shortly, and her longing desire was to be dissolved, and to be with Christ. She often repeated those words of *Job*, *There the weary go to rest*; and those words in the close of the *Revelations*, *Come Lord Jesus, come quickly*; upon the approach of her death (whereof she was very sensible) she asked her Husband, what Promises of assurance were a firm ground for her to bottome upon? He named *Job. 10. 28. And I give unto them eternal life,*
and

and they ſhall never periſh, neither ſhall any man pluck them out of my hand. Likewiſe he added Rom. 8. 33. 34. Who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of Gods Eleēt? It is God that juſtifieth, who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that dyed, yea rather, that is riſen again, who is ever at the right hand of God, who alſo maketh interceſſion for us. He added verſ. 38, 39. For I am perſwaded that neither Death, nor Life, nor Angels, nor Principalities, nor Powers, nor things preſent, nor things to come; nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature ſhall be able to ſeparate us from the love of God which is in Chriſt Jeſus our Lord. Theſe (ſaid ſhe) are ſweet promiſes.

That morning ſhe dyed, ſhe deſired her Husband to read the 17 Chapter of *John* (which Chapter that eminent holy Scotchman, Mr. Roſſock, cauſed to be read to him when he was dying) after that was read, ſhe was raviſhed with great joy, and expreſſed herſelf accordingly. Her Husband, and two other Friends prayed with her. After the laſt Prayer was ended, ſhe ſaid, *My fleſh, and my heart faileth*: Her Husband answered her, *That God was the ſtrength of her heart, and her portion for ever*: He would never fail her. She returned an answer (which were the laſt words which ever ſhe ſpoke to him) *He will never fail me*. About an hour after ſhe reſigned up her ſpirit unto God who gave it; and her laſt words were, *I have finiſhed my courſe*. She ſlept in Jeſus December the 8, Anno Chriſti 1654. To her to live was Chriſt, and to dye was gain. She lived much deſired, and dyed much lamented. Her name is like precious Oyntment powred forth. She lived holily, and dyed comfortably, and

Her joy unſpeakable.

Her Death.

now partakes of those joyes which eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither can enter into the heart of man to conceive, even those things which God hath prepared for them that love him.

Divers Epitaphs were made at the Death of this rare Gentlewoman : I shall onely insert two which were made by two Reverend and Learned Doctors.



On the Death of that worthy Gentlewoman,
Mrs. ELIZABETH WILKINSON.

E-re while (Dear Consort) I was leas'd to thee,
Wife now to Christ for perpetuity :
L-iving with thee was sweet, with him far best,
I-n earth joy's mixt with pain, in him all rest.
I-wrought, I suffer'd much in a few years,
L-ife now rewards my work, wipes off my tears ;
S-ighs are all turn'd to songs, all tears to wine, (thine?)
K-ings favour crowns my heart, what should grieve
A-re we not both of the same household still ?
I-at the Banquet, and thou at the Mill,
B-oth fellow-servants : I my Pension now :
N-ext thine, work on, the Feast succeeds the Plow.
E-ach of us yet in hopes, my Dust to win
S-alvation from the Grave, thy soul from sin.
T-hings worth the waiting for, Christ comes to save,
O-mourn no more, but write this on my Grave.
H-ere lies Mother, and Babe, both without sins,
N-ext birth will make her, and her Infant twins.
Her Childe was buried with her.

Thus

*Thus interwoven were our Names, till death
Left Wilkinſon without Elizabeth.
Wee'l joyn again. 'Twas Man and Wiſe before,
'Twill then be fellow-Saints for evermore.*

ED. REYNOLDS.

*On the truly Vertuous and Religious Mrs. Elizabeth
Wilkinſon. To her Husband.*

Say, ſhall I ſpeak or hold my peace ?
That ſeems more due ; but this more eaſe ,
Where, what to ſpeak, is hard to ſay ;
For ſhould I utter all I may,
'Twere endleſs : And to praiſe a Friend
By halves, is but to diſcommend.
And would I ſpeak, To whom ? and what ?
To thoſe that knew ? or knew her not ?
Who knew her need it not : for they
Know more than I am like to ſay :
Who knew her not, may think that ſhe
Deſerv'd but what they hear from me :
And ſo inſtead of ſetting forth
Her praiſe, I ſhould but wrong her worth.
He that adores with ſilent view,
Doth not detract from what is due :
But all that while his ſilence ſayes,
He knows not how enough to praiſe.
So, might I chooſe, I would adore
Her ſpeaking worth, and ſay no more.

But

But since I must (for so you say)
Not hold my peace, I must obey :
Yet 'tis, I say, too hard a task,
To answer fully what you ask :
To know, what first I should commend,
And harder, where to make an end.
Should I begin, where first appear
Her worths, I must begin with Her.
(Higher than so, I need not go,
Tho, whence she came, be worthy too.)
From first, her own deserving merit
Claims more than others do inherit :
Nor is it easie to express,
What age of hers was spent amiss.
Her temper meek; Her carriage such :
Her language good, and not too much :
Her habit comely, more than brave,
Her conversation humbly grave.
What vertues deck't a single life,
Were doubled, when she was a wife.
How good a wife, I need not tell
To him who knew her worth so well ;
Nor, what was her Maternal care,
To whom her children were so dear.
Nor was her good confin'd to home,
But challenged a larger room ;
To heal the sick, the hungry feed,
And succour those that stood in need ;
Good both to soul and body too,
Of those with whom she had to do ;
To rich, to poor, to great, and small,
But in her Closet best of all

(Which

(Which was her Chriſtian daily walk)

In doing that which others talk :

Forward to good without constraint,

And as ſhe liv'd, ſhe dy'd a Saint.

But this to ſpeak at large would crave

A Volume, not an *Epitaph*.

And were it done, I might offend

By ſhaming many left behinde,

(Tho more there may be found, I fear,

That will commend, than follow her.)

Some minde good words, more than good lives,

Some are good women, not good wives ;

Some, neither this, nor that, and ſome

Abroad are better than at home ;

Some hope to dye like Saints, although,

'Tis too too plain, they live not ſo.

'Tis rare in all reſpects to ſee

A Wife, a Woman like to thee ;

At home, abroad, in life, in death,

Like unto our *ELIZABETH*.

F. WALLIS D.D.

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